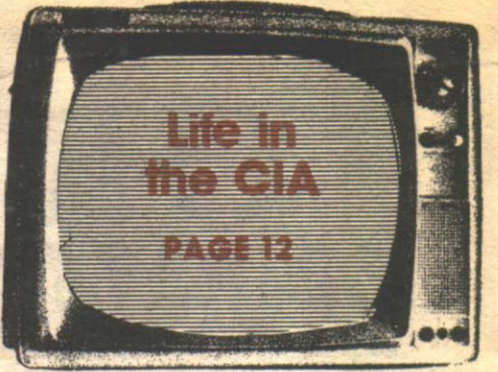


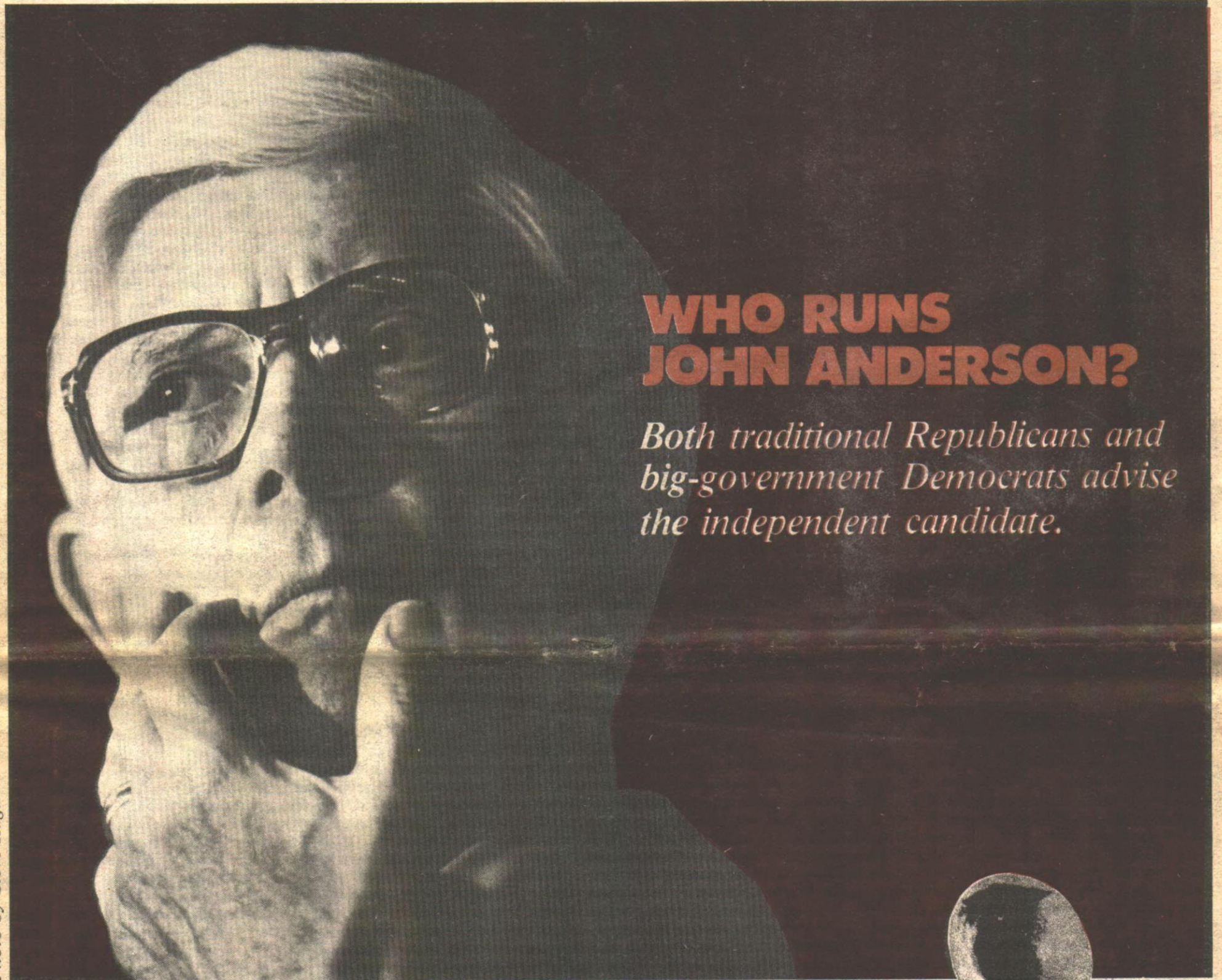
IN THESE TIMES



VOL. 4, NO. 24

MAY 14-20, 1980

75 CENTS



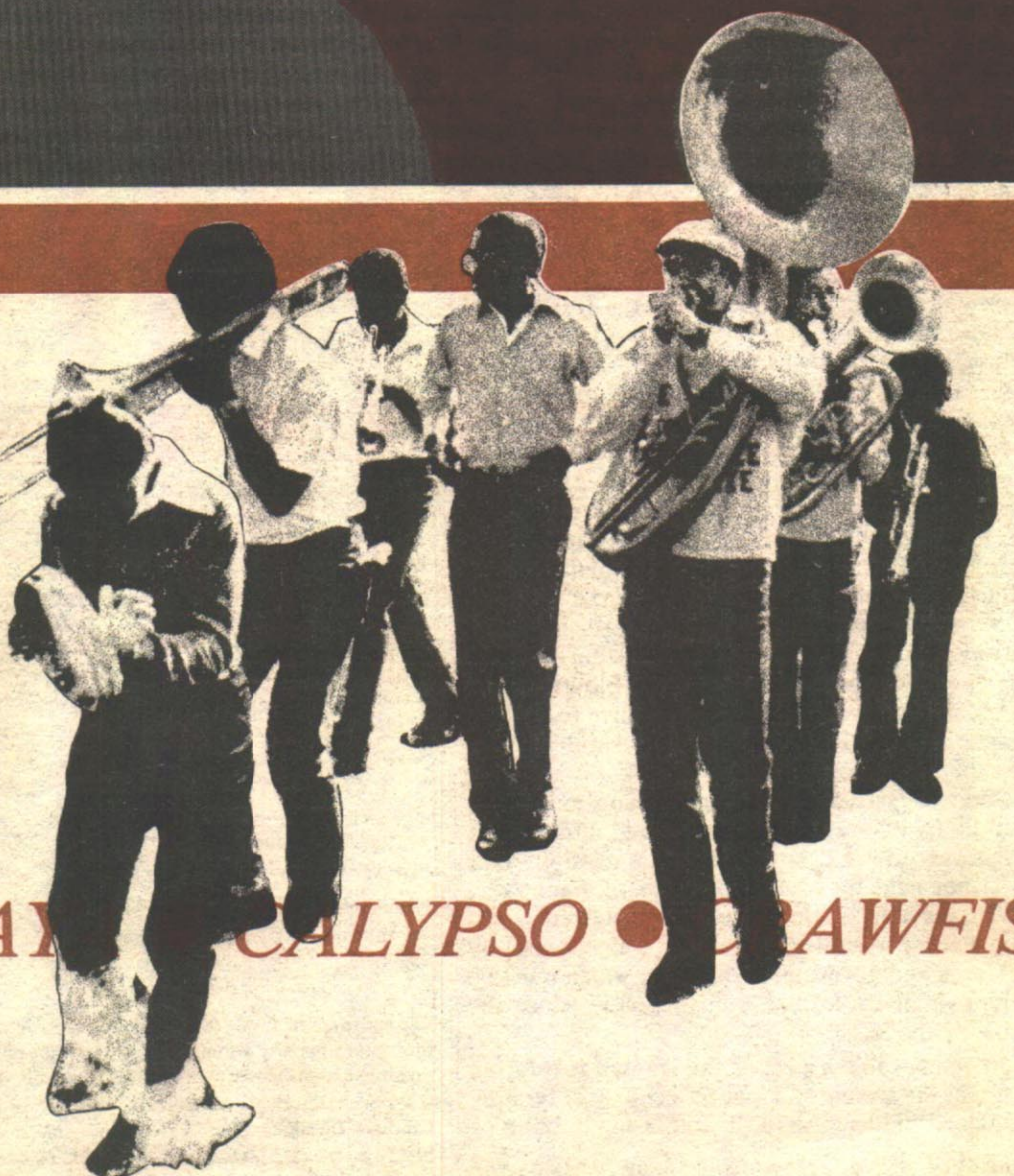
WHO RUNS JOHN ANDERSON?

*Both traditional Republicans and
big-government Democrats advise
the independent candidate.*

Photo by Steve Kagan

New Orleans Jazz Festival

RAGTIME ● JAMBALAYA ● CALYPSO ● CRAWFISH



THE INSIDE STORY



Bani-Sadr has many enemies and no organized base of support.

Mystery surrounds 'fifth column' in Iran

By Alexander Cockburn & James Ridgeway

NEW YORK

At a mid-April meeting in Tehran, when close associates of President Bani-Sadr met to plan strategy, it was agreed by all present that the worst fate that could befall him would be for the U.S. to launch and bring to a successful conclusion an Entebbe-style raid, rescuing the hostages in the U.S. embassy. Were that to happen, they speculated, then the right-wing Muslim clerics would seize the occasion to charge Bani-Sadr with responsibility for permitting such an outrage. He would be hounded from office, and the clerics' hold on power would be confirmed.

Within days, the team of American commandos landed and came to grief near Tabas. Had the mission gone forward as planned, at least six "Sea Stallion" helicopters, carrying some 90 men, would have proceeded across the desert to a second rendezvous in the mountains 100 miles east of Tehran. After hiding overnight, the force would have boarded vehicles already at the mountain camp, mingled with the traffic into Tehran, and made its way to yet another rendezvous in a warehouse. The following night the assault on the compound allegedly would have occurred, and the hostages rescued, with the helicopters picking up the survivors from either the embassy or a sports stadium nearby. A last rendezvous with the C-130 was to have taken place in western Iran for final flight from the country.

But the central mystery remains. Who comprised the fifth column in Tehran—the crucial ingredient without which the entire enterprise appears far beyond the frontiers of sober judgment? It was, after all, the fifth column's responsibility to prepare the mountain hideout, provide transportation, arrange for the movement of the troops, shelter them in Tehran, take them to the embassy gates, and finally help them in the assault and ensuing escape.

It has been suggested in Washington that special U.S. forces and CIA operatives were infiltrated into Tehran earlier this year in anticipation of such a mission. This version is not held by some supporters of Bani-Sadr, who have quite a different view of what transpired, one which involves suspicions of a possible coup attempt by leading clergy and government officials, which must be set in the overall context of Iranian politics since the overthrow of the Shah.

A most remarkable aspect of the Iranian revolution has been that the secrets of a quarter-century of tyranny have remained hidden. Amid the unceasing hubbub of

This issue (Vol. 4, No. 24) published May 14, 1980, for newsstand distribution May 14-20, 1980.

anti-American rhetoric, leaders of the revolution have preserved remarkable discretion in disclosing the details of dealings among the Shah, foreign corporations, politicians, journalists, and government officials.

It is true that some data has been released or made available at the Central Bank in Tehran. Similar access to the archives of such important ministries as Foreign, Defense, and Interior, has not been provided.

Moreover, under the imperious rubric of swift and secure justice, hundreds of important officials from the Shah's reign were executed before they could reveal the true extent of his political and financial dealings.

A few examples: Shortly after the Shah had fled to Cairo and Iran's embassy in Washington was taken over by the revolutionaries, reporters began to clamor for public disclosure of purportedly damning documents concerning payoffs and bribes. Acting ambassador to the U.S. Rouhani claimed he had sent the files back to Tehran. In Tehran, Rouhani's father, Ebrahim Yazdi—a close associate of Khomeini—insisted the files had been lost.

Last summer, a visitor to the Ministry of National Guidance in Tehran happened to spot on the cluttered desk of a secretary to Minister Minaji several letters discussing payoffs from the Shahs government to American journalists. The secretary was preparing to throw these letters in the wastebasket and the visitor promptly asked if he might take them. After much discussion, Minaji became involved. He promised to copy the letters and deliver them to the visitor. They never arrived.

Such withholding of information that would presumably buttress assaults on the previous regime and expose the Shah's accomplices, agents, and beneficiaries has been a recurring feature of revolutionary Iran.

Within a month of the seizure of power, the late Ayatollah Taleghani, a key member of the Revolutionary Council, informed another visitor that the Council had reached a consensus: the revolution would soon mount a Third World equivalent of the Nuremberg Tribunals, which would bring all culpable parties from the Shah's years to trial. Material witnesses before such a tribunal would include the leaders of the Shah's government, among them Prime Minister Hoveida.

But the rising curtain dropped abruptly. A fierce propaganda campaign was mounted for swift revolutionary justice, lent favor by the dissemination of atrocity photographs of torture victims. The Ayatollah Beheshti pressed forward with his revolutionary courts and in short order dispatched 500 material witnesses to the bosom of Allah.

The most telling implementation of this policy concerned Prime Minister Hoveida. He was tried first. Four to five hours before Bani-Sadr was scheduled to interview him, Hoveida was hauled away by the revolutionary court and shot.

The suppression of evidence and rapid extermination of witnesses soon provoked the questions: Who had so manifest an interest in hiding the deeds and data of the Shah's years, and why? In any post-revolutionary situation, there is an abundance of government officials, army commanders, intellectuals, and so on, with much to hide. In this particular instance, suspicions were circulated about many alleged revolutionaries, and four in particular: Beheshti himself, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, now foreign minister, Mostafa Tchamran, now defense minister, and Yazdi.

Return of the Past.

All, like many under the Shah's regime, had lived abroad; Beheshti in West Germany, the other three in the U.S. Their pasts appear murky, except for one fact:

they were all activists within the Muslim Students Association, a body now viewed with considerable interest and mistrust in Tehran, since it received funding from American Friends of the Middle East, identified in 1960s as a conduit of the CIA, a director of which was Kermit Roosevelt, who organized the 1953 coup against Premier Mossadegh. Two of the leaders, Tchamran and Yazdi, reportedly left the MSA and became leaders in the Iranian Students Association, which became anti-Shah in the early 1960s. Throughout, the lines between the CIA and its different siblings are blurred. Scarcely a student group did not have some kind of connection with the CIA. Not everyone felt impelled to conclude that membership in the MSA meant CIA control, but the suspicion remained that the past, for those notables and others like them, remained a sensitive topic, not immune to blackmail and kindred pressures. None was anti-American except in the most rhetorical sense.

Against this background, consider the current situation in Iran. Easily the most radical in the deeply divided leadership is President Bani-Sadr, elected three months ago by a 70 percent margin. Bani-Sadr, despite popular acclaim, has little real power. He has no organizational roots and, until now, has not been able to control a single ministry, although he does have some sway over the Central Bank and the ministry devoted to radio and TV.

Arrayed against the president is the Islamic Republican Party, controlled by conservative Muslim clerics, led by Beheshti. The party controls 10 of the 15 provinces, and dominates what was left of the Shah's Pahlevi Foundation, which gives it a financial base. It controls a vast urban renewal-type project called the Struggle for Reconstruction, which has a large budget. Folded into this project are many of the Shah's properties, vast amounts of oil money and other income-yielding ventures. The project dispenses patronage across the country. In addition, the IRP controls the Revolutionary Guards—about 16,000 strong—ill-trained but potent in Iran's disorganized state. The party also controls the revolutionary committees, which are now being merged with local police forces. Its leading members control the key ministries. It is, in short, a government unto itself.

The odds against Bani-Sadr appear to be heavy in the present struggle for power being waged under the erratic overall supervision of Khomeini. Bani-Sadr has in his favor the legitimacy of having won the popular vote and whatever benefits may accrue from the rising popular dislike of the mullahcracy, notably among the middle class, the largest of any Third World country. In the midst of a disintegrating economy, Bani-Sadr has gathered around him intelligent advisers with a rather clearer idea than the mullahs of what should be done.

His posture regarding the hostages has made more and more sense with the passing months: While the taking of the hostages may originally have been a radical act, the reaction generally has been bad for Iran and beneficial to its enemies. Bani-Sadr mentions the rise of Reagan, the increase in U.S. defense spending, and the reinvigoration of imperialistic self-confidence and sense of virtue.

The battle lines are clear and associates of Bani-Sadr now see the situation this way: not only was the fifth column conceivably inspired by one or another of the leading Muslim clerics—Beheshti or Tchamran are names mentioned—but the planned release of the hostages was part of a process designed to overthrow Bani-Sadr.

Continued on page 4.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, third week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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IN THESE TIMES

Anderson camp has two views on the economy

By John Judis

AMERICAN POLITICS, WITH its loose connection between presidential candidate, party and platform, allows for wide divergences between what candidates say during campaigns and what they do if elected. Who could have told from Lyndon Johnson's 1964 campaign that he would escalate the Vietnam war beyond Barry Goldwater's next-to-wildest dreams? Or who could have foreseen from Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign the invasion of Cambodia, the opening to China, and the imposition of wage-price controls? And, of course, who could have predicted Jimmy Carter's subservience to the Federal Reserve, the oil companies, and the Pentagon?

A candidate's associates and his pre-campaign political record are much more accurate indicators of his future behavior. With Carter, for instance, voters would have been much better off if they had ignored his electoral pieties and heeded his past as a small businessman, Vietnam hawk, tightfisted governor and pupil of Trilateral Commission director Zbigniew Brzezinski.

In the 1980 presidential campaign, however, one candidate has claimed to be an exception to this rule: Rockford, Ill., Congressman John B. Anderson. ("It has become a political tradition in this country to tell people only what they want to hear.... Think about the difference, the Anderson difference," Anderson's commercials said.) Anderson has taken fairly clear positions on potentially divisive issues like gun control and abortion rights. He has risked misunderstanding and unpopularity by proposing a 50¢ gasoline tax; and he has bucked the militaristic currents by defending SALT II, criticizing Carter's "exaggeration" of the Soviet threat, and opposing the MX.

But it would be a mistake to conclude from these dramatic stands on single issues that Anderson has clearly revealed the direction he would take as president. On the central economic issues of the '80s—how to stimulate investment and employment while curbing inflation and arresting the dollar's decline—Anderson's position has remained murky. His statements here even tend to be contradictory. For instance, having told minority audiences that he would not seek to balance the budget "on the backs of the poor," he released a program of \$12 billion in budget cuts that included reductions in social security, CETA, counter-cyclical fiscal assistance, community development block grants, legal services, and child development.

But there are three important clues to Anderson's ultimate economic program. They come not so much from what he has said on the campaign trail as from his affinity with the Ripon Society, his association with New York financier Felix Rohatyn, and his congressional record. Taken together, these clues do not indicate what Anderson would do as president. Rather, they indicate that under his transparent candidacy lies a seemingly irreconcilable conflict of views. To put it another way: Anderson's attractive certainty on such issues as abortion rights or gun control masks deep confusion about the most fundamental questions of production and distribution of wealth.

The Ripon Society was founded in 1962 by 17 professors and graduate students at M.I.T. and Harvard. Named for the birthplace of the Republican Party, the society was intended to preserve what its founder believed to be the essential principles of Lincoln Republicanism against the onslaught of the Goldwater right wing.

It called for the party to support the civil rights legislation of the '60s. It bitterly opposed the party's racist "Southern Strategy." In defining the role of government it tried to find a midway point of "moderation" between what past Society president John Topping calls the "benign neglect of the right and the bureaucratized alphabet soup on the left." Its members came to oppose the Vietnam war. In the '70s, Ripon members championed abortion rights and the ERA.

In both its social and economic philosophy, the Society espouses what Topping describes as a "decentralist philosophy analogous to the Republican philosophy from the 1850s to the 1870s." Topping cites not only the party's struggle for civil rights, but also "the Homestead Act and Land Grant Colleges Act. These things are logically consistent with the creative use of government to empower the people."

The society's members can be described as enlightened advocates of laissez-faire capitalism who understand that government must occasionally interfere with the market in order to preserve freedom. They support modest environmental legislation; they want to amend the patent laws to encourage more innovation by small business; and they have no objection to tax "reforms" specifically aimed at stimulating research and development.

But they violently oppose protectionism whether in the form of import quotas, trigger prices, or cargo preference legislation. They have little sympathy for government bailouts of corporations like Chrysler that have simply been "asleep at the switch." They are willing to tolerate a certain amount of creative destruction in the economy in the belief that only in this way can the economy become competitive in the 1990s.

The Society has grown from 17 to about 3,000 members who subscribe to the *Ripon Forum*. These members include many prominent Republican moderates and liberals.

Ripon's congressman.

When John Anderson first entered the House in 1962, he was to the right of the Ripon founders. In 1964, he backed Goldwater against Nelson Rockefeller and William Scranton. He initially opposed civil rights legislation and backed the war. But under the impact of the war and the civil rights movement, Anderson slowly moved to the Ripon position. While he had always shared Ripon's laissez-faire orientation—it comes more or less naturally to a Midwest Republican from a small-town district—he came to accept certain forms of government regulation and intervention as positive. He became an outspoken social liberal and a dove. In short, he became a Ripon Republican. If Representative Phillip Crane was the American Conservative Union's pet congressman, Anderson was the Ripon Society's pet.

Anderson's key aides were drawn from the Ripon Society, and when he decided to run for president, Ripon members ran



New York financier Felix Rohatyn favors wage-price controls and state planning, while the Ripon Republicans are leary of most government restraints on the free market.

his campaign. Chief congressional aide Michael MacLeod, the editor of the *Ripon Forum*, became his campaign manager, while former president and now *Forum* editor, John Topping, became his political director.

Anderson's adherence to Ripon principles furnishes an explanation for one of his stranger performances. Having missed over 90 percent of House votes during the election campaign, Anderson, whose district contains a Dodge Omni plant, made a point of returning to the House last fall to vote against the Chrysler bailout.

In the forthcoming interview with Anderson in *Playboy*, Robert Scheer asked Anderson whether he thought it was a problem that big corporations have become uncompetitive. Anderson's answer is vintage Ripon Society: "Oh, I agree," Anderson says. "That's why I voted against the Chrysler bailout...it just seems to me that if you believe in free enterprise, and I certainly do, it carries penalties and rewards. The penalty for bad management decisions at Chrysler had to be paid."

Anderson's Ripon philosophy also has informed his attitude toward labor, which he views through the distrustful prism of small business. He has consistently opposed any legislation that increased unions' bargaining power, from the Common Situs Picketing Act to Labor Law Reform.

A corporate liberal.

But there is another side to John Anderson's economic philosophy. The leading member of his economic policy advisory committee is no Ripon Republican, but

Felix Rohatyn, partner in Lazard Freres, head of the New York City's Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC), and long-time Democrat. Both privately and in speeches before business audiences, Anderson frequently cites Rohatyn's authority for his views.

Rohatyn is perhaps the foremost corporate advocate of large-scale government planning. He has long advocated a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation to stimulate urban investment. In *Business Week*, he recently called for a "bipartisan commission, modeled after President Roosevelt's Temporary National Economic Committee of 1938, to recommend an integrated economic strategy, both domestic and international, for the next two decades."

Rohatyn wants, in effect, a federal version of New York's MAC that would oversee industrial investment and government spending. It would be dominated by corporate executives and financiers, but would also include representatives from labor and government. (He is adamant about the need for a "social compact" between labor, business, and government.)

For the immediate economic crisis, Rohatyn's proposals are much closer to those advanced by Kennedy than to those of Carter, Reagan, or the Ripon Republicans. He favors a wage-price freeze, followed by controls; he favors the use of tax policy to eliminate regional inequities caused by the decontrol of energy prices (Sunbelt states are expected to reap a harvest in severance taxes from the new oil income); and he opposes social spending cuts directed at the

Continued on page 14.

MILITARY

The Pentagon plays hide and seek

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON

LT. COLONEL LOU MONTULLI says he understands the criticisms directed at the MX missile. He used to share some of them. "It's a phased reaction," says Montulli, who has been with the MX program for five years and describes himself as the missile system's "chief scientist."

"First you think, 'Oh, my God, you've got to be kidding! Has defending our country come to this? There must be an easier way, a cheaper way.' But when you've looked at all the arguments as long as I have, you end up—oh, maybe not loving MX—but being very fond of it. Because it does the job."

In spite of Lou Montulli's enthusiasm, the mounting opposition to the MX missile is something more than just a phase. Almost a full year after the Carter administration gave the go-ahead for America's next generation of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), the MX is coming under persistent scrutiny from the deserts of the Southwest to the halls of Congress.

The first major political test for anti-MX forces will come later this month when the House votes on the missile's \$1.5 billion research and development budget for fiscal year 1981.

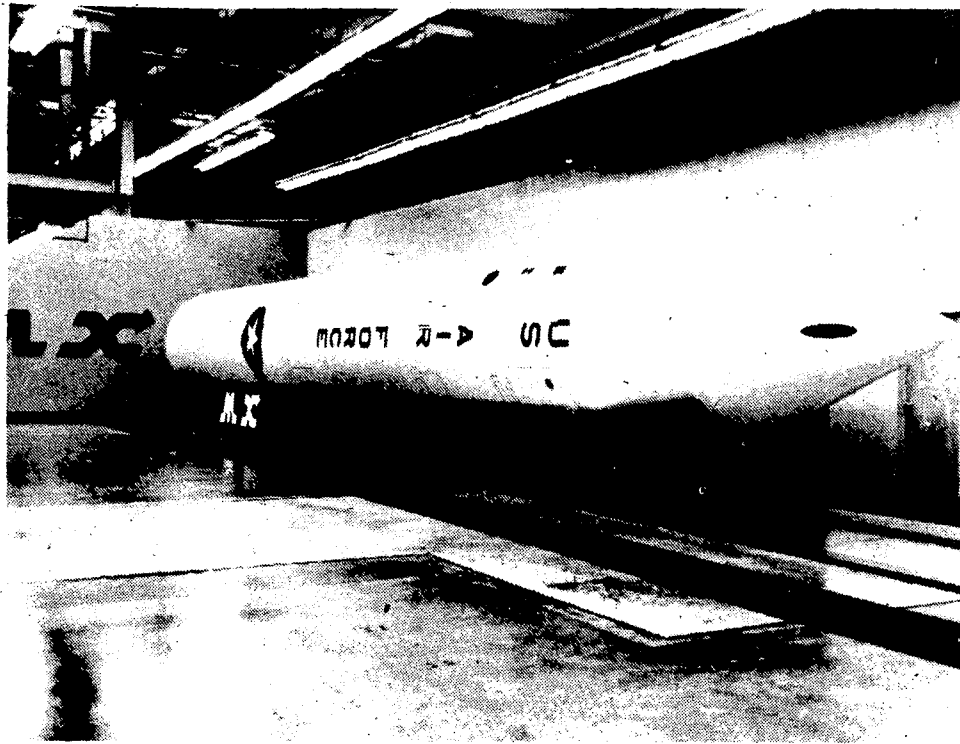
At stake is far more than this single missile program. MX now carries many political and military symbols—it is viewed as a bargaining chip for SALT II, as a sign of American geopolitical will in the post-Afghanistan world, and as the first fruit of the new strategic theory of counterforce gaining dominance in the U.S. defense community. The fight over MX may be the first battle in a new conflict over America's politics of defense.

Plans for a successor to the approximately 1,000 Minuteman and Titan II ICBMs have been on Pentagon drawing-boards for over seven years. The final design, approved by President Carter last June, consists of a 190,000-pound rocket carrying ten 335 kiloton warheads—seven more than the most advanced Minuteman, with twice the accuracy. The MX is what arms experts call a "counter-silo" weapon: it has sufficient power and accuracy to destroy Soviet missiles in their protected launching sites.

Nuclear shell game.

But the lion's share of attention and publicity has centered on the MX's elaborate mobile "basing mode." Designed to hide the location of the missiles while still allowing occasional verification of their number by Soviet satellites in accordance with provisions in SALT II, the system was quickly dubbed a nuclear-age shell game.

After considering over 30 schemes to hide MX—including submerging them in man-made pools, flying them in airplanes and burying them in 20-mile long blast-



The proposed MX missile system—an elaborate underground shell game—would be the largest public works project in U.S. history.

resistant trenches—the Air Force tentatively settled on a slightly less exotic plan known as the "racetrack." Each of 200 MX missiles (carrying some 2,000 warheads) would be shuttled on a transporter around a 15-mile loop serving 23 protective shelters. The 200 loops and 4,600 shelters would be scattered through some 50 valleys of the Great Basin Desert in Nevada and Utah. Along with construction camp areas, exterior roads and support bases, the entire MX site would occupy an area about the size of Pennsylvania. But just last week, the Pentagon announced that the racetrack loops were being shelved in favor of a simpler system of linear underground trenches that will be less costly and require less land.

MX is billed as the most massive public works project in U.S. history. During the four-year construction period, over 10,000 miles of roadway will be built (equivalent to about one-quarter of the Interstate Highway System) as well as 2,000 miles of special railway. Some 25,000 temporary construction workers with their 75,000 dependents will flood a region with a current population of 30,000. About 12,000 permanent employees will remain behind to operate the missile system; when their families are included, the estimated population increase is 55,000 people.

The cost of MX is hard to determine with any certainty. The Air Force estimates \$31.8 billion in constant 1980 dollars. Once inflation, cost overruns, and the possible expansion of the system be-

fiantly beyond the clergy and make an alliance with the Islamic leftists in the Mujadin group, which has a political organization. The problem here is that Khomeini regards Islamic leftists as agents of Satan, and Bani-Sadr may not feel he can risk any form of rupture with the 12th century and its fanatical representative today.

Within the next couple of weeks, matters may be clarified. Terrorism is on the increase in Tehran, and the fear of a coup is waxing in the Bani-Sadr camp.

What the unsuccessful raid may presage—at whatever risk in confronting the Russians—is the more determined prosecution not merely of attempts to release the hostages but restoration of American economic and political interests in Iran. Full circle back to the fall of Mosaddegh.

This article first appeared in the Village Voice.

en up to 90 percent of the present Minuteman forces in a surgical "first strike" attack.

The other two legs of the American defense triad—some 400 nuclear bombers and 656 submarine-launched missiles—are not adequate defense against such a threat because, like Minuteman, they are not counterforce weapons. Designed under the assumptions of "deterrence" theory, they are targeted at Soviet cities and industrial complexes, with neither the power nor the accuracy directly to challenge Soviet missiles in their protective silos. A pre-emptive first strike by the Soviets would thus present American leaders with a terrible dilemma: Either retaliate massively against Soviet cities and industry—knowing full well that Soviet silos remain operational for a second attack on American urban centers—or refrain from nuclear holocaust and capitulate to Soviet political or military demands.

For Lou Montulli and his colleagues, the MX mobile missile is an elegant solution to the vulnerability problem. Mobility gives Soviet planners 4,600 potential targets for a mere 200 missiles, thus sharply reducing the chances of a successful surprise first strike. In the words of Air Force chief of staff Lew Allen, the MX system would serve "as a great sponge of targets in the U.S. to absorb Soviet warheads, making a surprise attack look futile to the Kremlin." At the same time, the counter-silo characteristic of MX gives the U.S. the same "counterforce" capability that the Air Force says the Soviets have, thus restoring the nuclear balance and closing the "window of vulnerability" threatening U.S. nuclear forces in the '80s.

Critics of MX sharply challenge this vulnerability thesis. It is, in Defense Secretary Harold Brown's words of a few years ago, a "pencil and paper" threat. The Air Force won't begin to deploy the missile until 1986 and it won't be entire-

Continued on page 14.

Solar-powered defense

DENVER—The Departments of Energy and Defense have a plan to accelerate the development of renewable energy systems. But it's not exactly what Barry Commoner and other "soft path" advocates have in mind when they speak of the need for decentralized energy.

Together with the Air Force, DOE and DOD want to spend up to a half billion dollars to provide alternatively generated electricity to the sprawling underground installation that would be part of the controversial MX missile system.

As planners for the MX Renewable Energy Systems (MX-RES) see things, a combination of solar panels, windmills, refuse fuels and geothermal turbines could produce the estimated 180 megawatts of power the MX operation will need. As a side benefit, they say, the MX-RES project would promote cheap mass-production techniques for renewable energy systems (such as electricity-generating solar cells) that are not yet cost competitive with conventional generating systems.

But many see the project as a ploy to soften growing opposition to deployment of what they label a "first strike" weapon. Marilyn McNabb of SANE, a Washington-based anti-nuclear weapons group, said, "We think this is a very silly little sop being thrown to environmentalists for what would be a devastating program." And some experts at the Solar Energy Research Institute (SERI) in Golden, Colo., privately say the MX-RES may delay rather than speed up commercialization of alternative energy systems.

Preliminary work on the MX-RES began last September on the same day President Carter gave the go-ahead for full-scale development of the missile project.

MX-RES planners see solar-powered and other self-contained alternative energy systems as ideal for running the MX's remote robot security stations, for lighting and cooling the widely scattered shelters, and for recharging the batteries of electric vehicles used to haul missiles through the tunnels.

Project managers will contract with private industry to come up with reliable renewable systems. Because the first missiles are scheduled to be in place by 1986, and the whole system is to be deployed by 1989, a decision about the specific energy systems to be used must be made no later than 1982.

A high-level manager at SERI, who asked not to be identified because the institute is an arm of DOE, said the whole MX-RES project is technically "asinine."

Although additional money for development would be helpful in making alternative energy systems cost competitive in the long run, he said, 1982 is too soon to choose particular systems for rapid commercialization because not enough testing can be done by then.

"Renewable systems for MX are not the same as home-heating solar panels," he said. "This makes no sense for solar. This could hurt us more than help us if we rush ahead with programs and then have to deal with their subsequent failure."

—Timothy Lange

Iran

Continued from page 2.

The failure of the mission has at least temporarily stalled the crisis, with popular enthusiasm for the victory over the great Satan's helicopters attributing overall generalship to Allah and his representative, Khomeini. Bani-Sadr will attempt to gain control of certain ministries. Finance, agriculture and commerce are mentioned. He will also try to reorganize sectors of the armed forces, which are nominally under his control. Thus, his preferred course is to inch his way to real power.

The omens are not seen as auspicious for this strategy. A firmer but alternate course would have the president step de-

TEXAS

By Matthew Lyon

AUSTIN, TEXAS

TEN MONTHS AGO, JIM HIGHTOWER said quietly to me one day, "The hardest thing of all is making people believe that it's real—they don't believe..." That's how it was at the outset of his campaign to win a seat on the Texas Railroad Commission. Hardly anyone believed it could be done. In the end he didn't win. But he made almost everyone believe it's possible.

The Railroad Commission is an arcane title for what is probably the most powerful state agency in Texas if not in the nation. The innocently named citadel of the oil and gas lobby, the Railroad Commission is an American forerunner of OPEC, controlling the rate of production and the price of the oil and the gas that flows from Texas to power the rest of the country. In addition to regulating oil and gas, the commission also sets rates for trucking and the railroads. Its three commissioners, though elected, are practically bought and owned by the industries they are supposed to regulate. And at the Railroad Commission it has always been the same—consumers travel second-class.

Hightower, the 37-year-old former editor of the *Texas Observer*, ran right at the moneyed establishment in Texas. In his farewell column last July, he wrote, "There comes a time when writing about the bastards isn't enough." Since then, in a bitterly fought race leading up to Texas' May 3 Democratic primary, pitted against incumbent James E. Nugent for the remaining two years of an unexpired six-year term, Hightower pulled together a populist-progressive coalition the likes of which no one had seen in Texas politics for more than ten years. And by winning nearly 48 percent of the vote, Hightower came close to pulling off the biggest upset in Texas politics so far this year. All of which set many people wondering if, in the future, the industry's luxury liner might be docked.

From the start, money was Hightower's biggest problem. He probably lost because of it, but also because of a tactical error. The wealth of the oil industry amassed behind the incumbent, Nugent, was probably enough to stave off even the strongest of challengers. Hightower was outspent better than two-to-one—\$449,000 to \$161,000—and he was up against a heavy 11th-hour media campaign while unable to afford much of one himself. Hightower refused to accept contributions ("not a dime") from anyone in the industries regulated by the Railroad Commission. By contrast his opponent's money came, mostly in contributions of \$100 or more, from individual oilmen and companies in the regulated industries.

A tactical error.

But Hightower's tactical error also cost him dearly. Somewhere along the line Hightower's campaign organization made an assumption about the large Mexican-American vote concentrated in the agricultural region of South Texas known as the Rio Grande Valley. Based on demographic information, the economy of the people in the region, the consumer-oriented issues raised by Hightower's campaign and a reasonably educated guess, he should have won heavily in the valley. He assumed he would. Counting the region's votes into his projections, Hightower didn't campaign as hard in Mexican-American strongholds there, turning his attention instead to the traditionally conservative urban centers of Dallas, Ft. Worth and Houston. In the last days of the race he built his organizations in the central cities, where he expected to do the worst.

Meanwhile Nugent, a 37-year-old veteran of Texas politics who spent 18 years in the state House of Representatives (where he acquired the name "Super-snake") before being appointed in 1979 to his \$48,500-a-year seat on the Railroad Commission by former Governor Dolph Briscoe, had a slick television blitz aimed at Mexican-Americans in the valley.



Jim Hightower's strong campaign exposed the power of the Railroad Commission.

Populist takes on the oil and gas elite

Hightower's big mistake was to take the Mexican-American vote for granted. He swept Dallas but lost the rural Rio Grande Valley.

So on the night of the primary election, as returns came in early from Dallas and Ft. Worth, they showed Hightower walloping his opponent, finally winning 64 percent of the vote in those areas and also winning in Houston. Astonishing. Hightower was rewriting the book on Texas politics. A liberal-progressive wasn't supposed to win in those areas, not by that margin. It was unbelievably good news.

But as the night wore on and tallies trickled in, the valley slowly began dropping off Hightower's map. How could this be happening?

Through the next day as late returns were still being confirmed Hightower wouldn't concede defeat and Nugent wouldn't claim victory. By the following morning it was apparent that Hightower

had come within 53,000 votes of victory. But he had lost where he was supposed to have won, and won where he was supposed to have lost. As indication of how Hightower might have done in the valley had he campaigned harder there, Ted Kennedy did reasonably well among Mexican-Americans in the region in the presidential primary, and in several local races liberal politicians won.

Hightower partially blamed himself in his concession speech for shortchanging south Texas on personal campaign appearances. "We sprung leaks among our constituents," he said. "We didn't see it and that's our fault. It can't be fixed. But we had no television and only \$20,000 worth of radio. You're not supposed to be able to do that and get anywhere close."

Even in conceding to Nugent Hightower was upbeat, buoyed by the strength of the constituency he had stirred, what he had spoken of in the campaign as "the majority—the working people, the family farmers, small business people, poor people, old people—we're the majority."

Snake stories.

Hightower, a self-described populist in the tradition of Huey Long, had traveled the state in his single brown suit, cowboy boots and white ten-gallon hat, holding hoe-down rallies and beer-bust fundraisers, thumping the tub and taking his own entertaining brand of stemwinding oratory into the labor halls and out to the rural communities of Texas. He called himself "the candidate of those of you who don't own an oil well." He called himself "an old yellow dog democrat." He said he wanted to represent "the 'gougees' of the State of Texas. Those of you who pay the bills."

When his opponent called him an "agitator," Hightower responded with tremendous glee, "I am an agitator. An agitator's that centerpost in a washing machine that gets the dirt out. And that's exactly what I'm gonna do in my campaign." He told snake stories about growing up in Grayson County, a farming area, and how he had been taught not to be fooled when a snake sheds its skin, "cause back over there in the woods there's still a snake somewhere." He told stories about his "daddy up in Denison, Texas, who would say, 'if too few people get all the money and power in their hands, they're gonna use that against the rest of us.'"

He would repeat over and over to increasingly larger audiences as the campaign wore on, "It's like old Huey Long used to say, 'if you want ham, you got to get out in the smokehouse. And we're gonna reach up there for one of the sweetest hams in Texas politics. The Railroad Commission. And we're gonna slice a third of it off! And we're gonna give that third to the people for a change!'" And, "I'm saying to the people, if you own some utility stock then Nugent is your boy. If you're an executive of the Exxon Corporation, then you get with my opponent 'cause he'll do your bidding. But if you don't own any utility stock, if you're not an executive sipping martinis up there in the suite at Exxon headquarters or the Petroleum Club in Dallas and Houston, then you want to be voting for me. And if you're mad about your utility bill, if you're mad every time you pull up to the pump and fed up to here with that whole process, then you ought to try to sneak into that polling booth not once but vote for me twice if you can get away with it..."

When it was revealed that in the closing days of the campaign a group of oil company executives and independent oilmen had met in the Petroleum Club of Houston to plot a "Stop Hightower" strategy, he shot back with delight, "We've pinched 'em and they're squealing!" It was all glorious oratory that attracted media attention everywhere along with the acknowledgement that Hightower had brought fun back into Texas politics.

But there was, too, always the serious Hightower armed with statistics and facts and evidence of the inner dealings of the Railroad Commission, the manipulation of consumers, the raising of rates and lax regulatory control. He had written, in 1975, a hard-hitting book, *Eat Your Heart Out*, exposing America's food industry; and another, written while he was head of the Agribusiness Accountability Project in Washington, D.C., called *Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times* about the decline of family farming in America. It was as editor of the *Observer*, where he went after managing Fred Harris' presidential campaign in 1976, that he began to focus serious attention on economic issues in Texas and discovered the little-known but powerful Texas Railroad Commission, which may never again be viewed quite the same way.

Matthew Lyon is the associate editor of the *Texas Observer*.

FOOD STAMPS

Nation's poor face "Foodless June"

By Richard Kazis

WASHINGTON

CHRISTINE PRATT-MARSTON of Lynwood, Washington, is one of 21 million Americans who cannot afford to buy groceries without the help of food stamps from the federal government. Christine has five children and is a diabetic. She receives \$114 a month in food stamps—21¢ a meal for each member of her family. As she puts it, "Who can fill up a 6'4" 16-year-old on that kind of money?"

Unfortunately for Christine and others like her, making ends meet is going to become more difficult in the coming year. The food stamp program has been

one of the casualties of the congressional budget process. Both the House and the Senate Budget Committees have recommended deep cuts in the program. In 1981, there will undoubtedly be a greater number of needy people competing for fewer food stamp dollars.

Right now, food stamp recipients face an immediate crisis. Unless Congress acts by May 15, there will be no food stamps at all on June 1. Zy Weinberg of the Community Nutrition Institute in Washington, D.C., believes that there is a "90 percent certainty that June food stamps will either be delayed, reduced or terminated." Food advocates around the country are talking seriously about a "foodless June."

To avoid a cut-off of food stamp benefits, Congress must take several steps by May 15, the deadline for Secretary of Agriculture Bergland's telling the states whether or not they should issue stamps for June.

In the 1977 re-authorization of food stamp legislation, a cap was placed on total funds authorized for the program for the years 1978 through 1981. Because calculations of the spending caps seriously underestimated increases in both unemployment and inflation, the \$6.2 billion cap set for 1980 falls about \$3 billion short of what is needed to run the program for the full year. By June 1, the \$6.2 billion will have been spent. Until this cap is lifted, there will be no new money for the program and no food stamps for recipients.

The Senate has already passed legislation (S.1309) that would eliminate the spending caps for both 1980 and 1981. The House version of the bill, which most likely will be voted on in the next few days, does not eliminate the cap but sets revised, higher figures. This and other differences between the two bills

will have to be hammered out in a House-Senate Conference Committee, a process that will take a few more days.

But the real stumbling block is the revised Third Concurrent Budget Resolution for 1980. Until Congress passes this resolution, no new legislation can order additional federal spending between now and the end of the fiscal year on September 30. The 1980 Budget Resolution cannot be passed until both the House and the Senate have agreed upon an initial Budget Resolution for 1981. In recent years with all the controversy over spending levels for both 1980 and 1981, it could take even longer. But only after these first two tasks are completed can the final necessary congressional action—supplemental appropriations for the food stamp program—be taken.

Exacting a price.

Food advocates are concerned that Congress will not act before some or all of June's food stamps are lost. They are also apprehensive that Congress will exact a stiff price from food stamp recipients when it raises the spending cap and lets the program survive.

Bari Schwartz, a staff attorney at the Food Research and Action Center, fears restrictive amendments are likely to be tacked on to S.1309 before it is passed by the House. "It is important for people to understand that the issue is not just the cut-off," said Schwartz. "This is a twin crisis that may not only hurt poor people in June but that could lead to more deep cuts in the program for the coming year."

A variety of amendments that would reduce food stamp spending for the rest of 1980 are likely to be considered. Several are already included in the Senate Budget Committee's proposal to the full Senate for 1981 funding. One amend-

ment, known as the Helms Amendment since it was first introduced by Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, would cut food stamp benefits for families with children in schools where the federal school lunch program is available. Conservative proponents of this amendment argue that since food stamps are allocated on a per person/per meal basis, children who get a free school lunch actually receive four meals a day from the government. What they fail to mention is that for most food stamp recipients—as for Christine Pratt-Marston—the per-meal allocation is already woefully inadequate.

A second amendment likely to be considered is meant to reduce food stamp availability to the "temporarily poor." It would legislate that any family that receives food stamps and that reports annual earnings of more than 175 percent of the poverty line for that year must repay to the government the amount of food stamp benefits received in that year. This provision, called "recoupment," would in effect turn food stamps into a loan program for the temporarily unemployed or poor.

Whether these amendments are passed as part of the 1980 legislation or not, the prospects for fiscal 1981 look bleak. Higher unemployment levels will force more Americans to seek relief through food stamps in the coming year, but both the House and the Senate Budget Committees have recommended program cuts for 1981. The House figure is \$400 million, while the Senate Budget Committee has asked for cuts of \$1.4 billion from the food stamp program. These cuts are being recommended despite the fact that the income of food stamp households has risen only 7 percent in the past four years—less than one-quarter of the 30 percent rise in the cost of living during that time.

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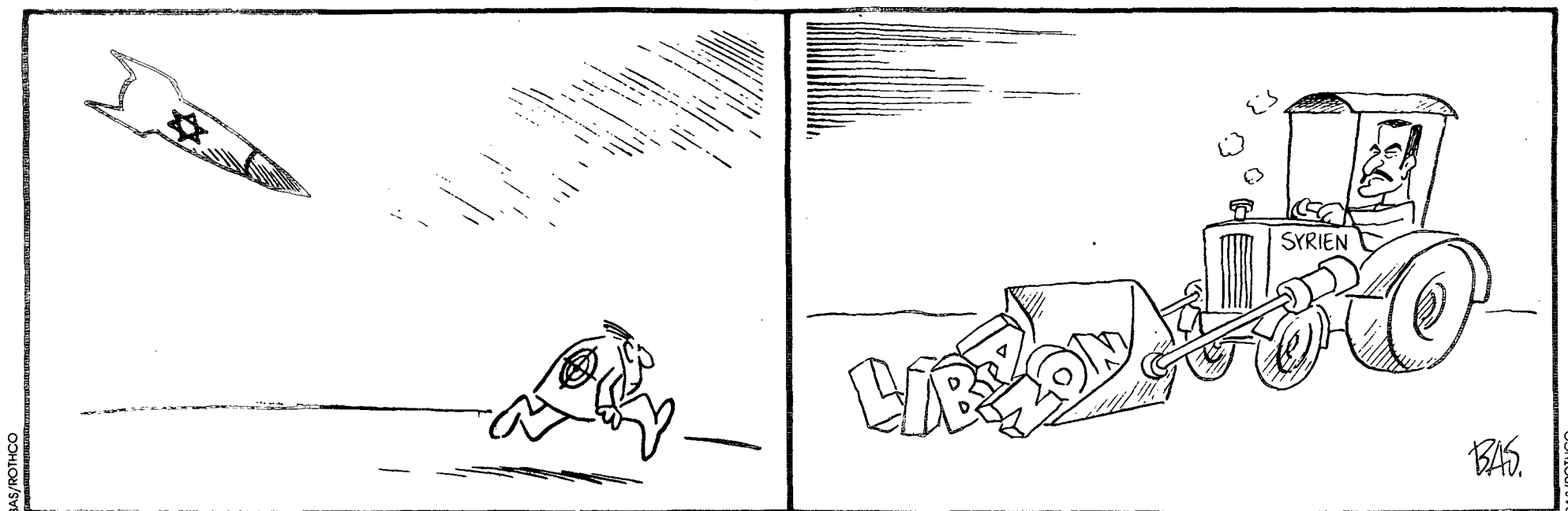
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MIDDLE EAST



U.S. promoted civil war in Lebanon

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

RAYMOND EDDÉ SEEMS THE very model of a bourgeois democratic politician—perhaps the Middle East's best specimen of that threatened species. A Maronite Christian, member of the Lebanese parliament since 1953 and former cabinet minister, he is a firm believer in the multi-faith Lebanese republic established after World War II under French auspices. He is leader of a middle-of-the-road party called the National Bloc, which he describes as "a liberal democratic party, anti-communist, for human rights and a liberal economy," which may well represent the outlook of a majority of Lebanon's Christian population.

Edde has reasons for his moderation. Member of a family prominent in Lebanon's important banking community, Raymond Edde, like his father Emile Edde, a founder and president of the Lebanese republic, believes that Lebanon—and in particular its Christian community—owes its survival and prosperity to its ability to act as intermediary between the Arab world and the West.

Edde accuses the Maronite extreme right, led by Pierre Gemayel and Camille Chamoun, of contributing to the destruction of Lebanon, whether out of stupidity, a desire to lord it over a small Maronite "ghetto," or immediate personal gain (the disasters have been profitable to some). But they are armed and he is

not. In 1977, after two close calls with assassins he identifies as Syrian agents, Raymond Edde went into what he hopes is temporary exile in Paris.

He is about to visit the U.S. Up to now, the American press has tended to ignore this respectable conservative Christian, perhaps because he denies that the Lebanese civil war is essentially a "religious war" and puts the main blame on Israel and Henry Kissinger.

Back in December 1975, he told *Le Monde* that "we are faced with an American plan aiming at Lebanon's partition, which sooner or later will lead to the breakup of Syria. The objective is to create a number of religious states alongside Israel, small buffer states to contribute to the security of the Jewish state." He said it was obvious to him that "Christian extremists favorable to the partition of Lebanon, as well as the Israelis, are in cahoots with certain American agencies."

Interviewed by IN THESE TIMES in the Paris hotel where he lives for security reasons (his family's Paris apartment doesn't seem safe enough from potential assassins), Raymond Edde finds that the dismemberment of his country has since proceeded largely as he forecast.

Edde has the rather blunt, direct style of an honest businessman—the sort you would buy a used car from.

"I've accused Israel all along of deliberately wanting to start trouble in Lebanon so as to take over the southern part of the country. My father, who ended up being president in 1936, was at the peace conference in 1919, along with representatives of the Jewish Agency. He knew what the Zionists wanted then. They wanted the border between Palestine and Lebanon to be set at the Litani River, which flows into the Mediterranean between Tyr and Sidon. They wanted to put the border of Palestine on the river to have access to its water."

Today, he points out, Israel controls that part of Lebanon south of the Litani, either directly or through renegade Lebanese commander Saad Haddad, whose forces, armed by Israel, have prevented the United Nations peace-keeping force from carrying out its mission of occupying Lebanon up to the Israeli border.

Because he saw what was coming, Edde first suggested asking the UN to send a peace-keeping force to patrol the Israeli-Lebanese border back in December 1968, after Israel attacked Beirut airport and destroyed 13 planes, practically the country's entire commercial air fleet. He resigned from his cabinet post when the Lebanese government refused to follow his suggestion.

One year later, he and his party were alone in opposing the semi-secret Cairo accords of Nov. 3, 1969, that allowed the Palestinian resistance, driven out of Jordan, to use southern Lebanon to attack Israel. Edde foresaw that the Palestinian attacks would be only the prelude and pretext for Israeli attacks on Lebanon.

The role of the right.

The rightist Maronite leaders, Chamoun and Gemayel, went along with the Cairo accords. But 400,000 Palestinian refugees in a country of less than three million inhabitants upset the political balance, putting the dominant Christians in a minority. Gemayel, with his private fascist army, and Chamoun with his mercenaries, turned around and made war on the Palestinians.

"Since the extreme right—Nazi in fact—had started the war against the Palestinians, and at one point the left was about to win, the Phalangists thought of nothing better than to call in the Syrians. I said at the time, that's madness, the Syrians have territorial designs on Lebanon, you won't get them to leave. When the Syrian army came in in June 1976, it began attacking Moslems and Palestinians, and Chamoun and Gemayel were happy. They thought Syria would drive out the Palestinians, and when they saw this wasn't so, they called for help from Israel. They called in the Syrians and now they're fighting against the Syrians. And all Israel is interested in is southern Lebanon."

Back in September 1977, Edde jumped at a news report that "the Americans consider the problem of southern Lebanon

related to the problem of the waters of the Litani." He wrote to the French newspaper *Le Figaro* that the report confirmed that the Litani, a river well within Lebanese territory from its source to its outlet, was "the actual objective of the Israeli army fighting in southern Lebanon. This is all part of the Kissinger plan that I have been denouncing for over three years and that aims at enabling Israel to provoke the exodus of the majority of the population of southern Lebanon and occupy the territory up to the Litani River, along which Israel has drawn the famous 'red line' that the Arab peace force, meaning the Syrian forces, aren't supposed to cross." (Israel let it be known it would tolerate the Syrian occupation of Lebanon so long as Syria stayed north of the "red line," that is, the Litani.)

"When in March 1978 Israel attacked and invaded Lebanon," Edde recalls, "it took the Israeli army a week to reach the Litani. It's less than 40 kilometers away, why did they take so long? To give the inhabitants time to get scared and run away." (That part of southern Lebanon is inhabited mainly by Shi'ite Moslems, with some Sunni Moslems, Druzes and a few Christian villages.)

Continued on page 14.

Kissinger's plan was to partition Lebanon into two religious states—a Christian north and a Moslem south—and in fact that has been carried out.



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NEXT WEEK:

JOHN BERGER



Part I of a two-part interview with the author of *Ways of Seeing* and *The Success and Failure of Picasso* and scriptwriter for *La Salamandre* and *Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000* talks about: The Crisis of Modern Art Writing as a Political Act Culture of the Peasantry Cooperative Publishing

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The Zimbabwe election has put new pressure on Botha to ease the polarization of black and white.

SOUTH AFRICA

By Our South
Africa Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN South Africa are kept in appalling conditions of iso-lation. They are not allowed newspapers or books. They can receive only a few short letters a year, from which censors remove even the most remote political references. Their few visitors are similarly prevented from discussing the current situation.

There is therefore no reason why they should know that Zimbabwe has just become independent following the smashing election victory of the Patriotic Front. But former prisoners say that news has a way of filtering into the apartheid regime's dungeons despite all the precautions. One way or another, the prisoners most probably have learned that Robert Mugabe, who did 10 years in detention, is Zimbabwe's prime minister. And they probably also know that Mugabe's victory has touched off a flurry of activity here in South Africa that just might lead to their eventual release.

The celebration of the Patriotic Front victory in Soweto and other black areas had scarcely died down when the *Post*, a Johannesburg-based newspaper that caters to blacks, issued a call for the release of Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, which is the pre-eminent revolutionary movement in South Africa. Mandela has been serving a life sentence on Robben Island, the forbidding fortress off Cape Town, since 1964.

The "Free Mandela" campaign is having an unexpected success. Within weeks more than 50,000 people had signed the *Post's* petition. Blacks are naturally backing the drive because vast numbers of them view Mandela as their leader and regard his imprisonment for "sabotage"—as unjust. Some whites, primarily students at the English-speaking universities, share this view.

But other whites—including the English-speaking press, some of the opposition Progressive Federal Party, and certain business leaders—have pragmatic reasons for supporting Mandela's release. For them, the paramount lesson of Zimbabwe is that Ian Smith's refusal to negotiate early on with the real black leaders led to increased armed struggle and a consequently more radical government.

The Johannesburg *Sunday Express* said in an editorial: "If the Mandelas of today are more than whites can stomach, will the unknown black negotiators of tomorrow be easier to treat with? All African history argues not." This view is surprisingly representative: a newspaper



Much organizing must still be done to mobilize the black labor force

John Seymour



Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu in the prison yard of Robben Island in 1966

A movement to free black leaders is gaining support among whites urging "moderation" of South Africa's racial policies.

poll in Johannesburg showed a majority of whites (54 to 41 percent) favored either releasing or considering release of the ANC leader.

Prime Minister P.W. Botha will certainly not free Nelson Mandela in the near future. But he will take the campaign as another piece of evidence to bolster his mild reform position in his escalating war with *verkramp* (narrow) elements in his own National Party.

Within a week of the Zimbabwe results, the Nationalists, who have ruled with monotonously increasing majorities since 1948, were edging toward a split. The *verkramp* leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht (his enemies call him "Dr. No"), had objected to black children participating in a previously all-white rugby tournament. Botha, in shock from the magnitude of the Mugabe victory, exploded into one of his famous temper tantrums. He summoned Treurnicht to a private meeting, after which the *verkramp* leader backed down ever so slightly.

Then, the disgraced former prime minister and state president, John Vorster, entered the brawl. In a widely-publicized speech Vorster criticized Botha's initiatives and said no one should develop a "guilty conscience" about apartheid. The other major casualty of the Infogate scandal, former minister Connie Mulder, is also back in politics, barnstorming the country for his new National Conservative Party.

There are indications that a majority of whites, chastened by the results from Zimbabwe, support the prime minister. Another newspaper poll showed that even among Nationalists, four-fifths would rather see the party split than compromise with the Treurnicht faction.

The split to come.

Botha's problem is that his party apparatus does not accurately register white opinion. Treurnicht leads the Nationalists in the Transvaal, the most populous of South Africa's four provinces. Pundits estimate that up to 45 of the 134 Nationalist MPs, most of them Transvaalers, would follow him in the case of a split, creating a new and vociferous official opposition. Simultaneous divisions would open in the extensive cultural, social and religious institutions of Afrikaanderdom, which until now maintained

a high degree of unity. Even so, Botha seems more and more resigned to the split: he is searching for the proper issue and the right time to minimize the damage.

The reforms Botha advocates that are creating controversy are laughable in their triviality. He wants to "improve" the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts, which outlaw sexual contact between the races. (This prompted a Progressive MP to ask: Improve? Allow it in some cities? On certain days? With a special permit?) He favors continued integration in sports, which is South Africa's only hope of being let back into the international arena. He wants to eliminate "unnecessary" and "hurtful" discrimination in public amenities.

Botha also wants to press ahead with "constitutional reform," an effort to find a window-dressing formula to integrate 2.5 million Africans of mixed descent ("Coloreds") and 778,000 Indians into the system. He hopes to improve conditions for some urban blacks (about 1.5 million people in all) to placate 1976-type unrest and boost industrial productivity, which is shockingly low at present. Soweto and other townships will get electricity and other improvements, and some of their lucky residents will be given a limited degree of assurance that they will not be moved to the Bantustans on a moment's notice.

Leaders of these communities have already denounced Botha's proposals as cosmetic and woefully insufficient. They point out further that he fails to address the keystone of apartheid: the Bantustan districts in which fully one-half of the black population lives. Massive forced resettlement to the 10 territories continues steadily, leading to worsening poverty, overcrowding and hunger. In short, the reforms Botha proposes, even if he can get them enacted will only modify rigid apartheid slightly—"improving" South Africa to roughly the same position Rhodesia was in on the eve of its guerrilla war.

Meanwhile, the tempo of armed struggle in South Africa continues to accelerate. In early April an ANC unit attacked a police station near Soweto, using rocket-propelled grenades for the first time. The guerrillas escaped. The raid followed attacks on other targets over the past year, including the now-famous "Siege

of Silverton" in late January. A three-man guerrilla team captured a bank near Pretoria and held 25 hostages for six hours before dying in a hail of police gunfire. (The ANC said the three had been members, but it did not sanction the attack.) The white press called them "terrorists," but crowds of up to 20,000 attended their funerals in Soweto.

There are signs, though, that the front-line states (which now include Zimbabwe) will attempt—for now—to curtail attacks against the apartheid regime. They need time to reconstruct after the Zimbabwean war, and they know South Africa has weapons in its arsenal far more devastating than anything with which Ian Smith ever attacked them. Also, there seems to be a growing belief that change in South Africa will not be achieved exclusively through rural (or rural plus urban) guerrilla warfare. The country's large black labor force will also have to be mobilized. The political strike wave in the industrial city of Port Elizabeth late last year may have been a proto-type, but much patient organizing must be done in the rest of the country.

The pause in armed struggle will probably not apply to Namibia. The war between South African troops and the SW-APO guerrilla movement doubled in intensity last year—and continues to expand. The Zimbabwean election has completely disrupted Pretoria's strategy for the territory. It had hoped to continue stalling the United Nations while building up its stand-in, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, until it felt the DTA could compete in elections. But there is now little doubt that DTA leader Dirk Mudge—who, besides being a Muzorewa-style puppet, is white—would lose to SWAPO. Pretoria now faces a simple choice: give up the territory, or risk UN sanctions. The degree to which western governments will appease the apartheid regime is the question.

The reverberations from Zimbabwe will continue to spread through the two remaining minority-ruled states in southern Africa. The prisoners on Robben Island (who include Namibians), in Pretoria Central Prison, and elsewhere, are waiting for freedom. They will continue to wait. But they will not wait forever. ■

BLACK LEADERS IN SOUTH AFRICA'S JAILS

While the Western press has made the names of many of the political prisoners in the Soviet Union familiar, their counterparts in South Africa remain largely unknown.

In fact, the very term "political prisoner" is blurred here even more than usual. The regime maintains that all of the 100,000 people it keeps locked away (by far the highest rate of imprisonment in the West) have been convicted of "crimes." Critics counter that in many cases those "criminal acts"—such as not carrying the notorious pass—are particular to the South African situation.

Nonetheless, there are a large number of people who even the regime would be hard-pressed to deny are serving time as a direct consequence of their political views and acts. Here are a few of them:

Nelson Mandela, 62 years old. In a free election, there is little doubt South Africans would select him as their leader. He has been active in the African National Congress since the 1940s and moved with it through the successive phases of peaceful petition and non-violent civil disobedience. In the early 1960s he succeeded Chief Albert J. Lutuli, the winner of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize, as the ANC leader. The organization decided upon a policy of sabotage against non-human targets as a last effort to shock whites into negotiating. Mandela and other ANC leaders were captured and convicted after the 1964 Rivonia Trial. Mandela was sentenced to life in prison. The ANC then adopted the policy of guerrilla warfare.

Walter Sisulu, 68 years old. He worked with Mandela in the ANC since the 1940s and was also sentenced to life after Rivonia. His career is typical of many activists: like Mandela, he came from the rural Transkei, worked in the mines, as a servant in white homes, and running a small business in the townships before working full-time for the ANC. His wife has been "banned" (not permitted to talk with more than one person at a time, among other restrictions) since 1964.

Dorothy Nyembe, 50 years old. She joined the ANC in 1952, and immediately served two short prison terms. She did three more years in the 1960s, after the ANC was banned. In 1968, she was convicted of "harboring terrorists" and sent back to prison, this time for 15 years.

Zephania Mothopeng, 66 years old. He was a founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress (now largely moribund), which split from the ANC in 1959. He served five years in prison in the 1960s. An ex-prisoner recalled that Mothopeng was once tortured so badly with electric shock that he was unable to drink from a metal cup afterwards—sparks jumped between his hand and the cup. Last year he was convicted of "terrorism" and, despite his age, sentenced to 15 years.

Dennis Goldberg, 47 years old. He was the only white convicted at the Rivonia trial. He is an engineer who was found guilty of manufacturing the explosives for the sabotage campaign, and also sentenced to life. Prison authorities have not permitted his wife to visit him for 13 years.

Ahmed Kathrada, 51 years old. He is an Indian South African, who was also sentenced to life at Rivonia. His attorneys told him there was an excellent chance his conviction would be reversed on appeal, but he refused, explaining he did not want to break solidarity with his co-defendants.

PERSPECTIVES

Runaway factories are also a civil rights issue

By Gregory D. Squires

THE DEVASTATING IMPACT OF PLANT SHUTDOWNS AND corporate relocations on abandoned communities is well known. Suppliers and other ancillary businesses are hurt, new business is hesitant to move into the area and things generally slow down. Municipal budgets are drained when the demand for social services is on the rise. The mental and physical health of laid off workers, family and friends deteriorate, rates of divorce, alcoholism, depression and suicide climb. Just the threat of a shutdown can forestall implementation of environmental and occupational safety regulations and other needed public welfare measures.

Despite the visibility of the "runaway plant" phenomenon, curiously little attention has been paid to its consequences for the racial minorities who are most adversely affected. Equal employment opportunity and minority economic development have long been civil rights issues, but the impact of plant closings on minorities has not. Yet there are several dimensions to the problems of plant closings and economic dislocation that adversely affect racial minorities.

Over the past 20 years the nation's minority population has increased its concentration in neighborhoods within metropolitan areas (primarily central cities) and in regions of the country (the northeast quadrant) that are either de-

clining or growing relatively slowly. Blacks constituted 16 percent of all central city residents in 1960 and 22 percent in 1975, while the suburban black population increased only from 5 to 6 percent. During those years the black population in the Northeast and Midwest increased from 7 to 9 percent of the total, while it decreased in the South from 21 to 19 percent.

Because of their concentration in lower level jobs, minorities are less likely to be offered relocation assistance when employers move. Minorities are also concentrated in industries that have been hardest hit by recent patterns of development. While relocation overseas hurts American workers in general, it hits minorities the hardest. Minorities are more dependent on wages and salaries as sources of income than whites (80 per-

cent of black income compared to 70 percent of white income is derived from wages and salaries) and minorities own relatively small amounts of wealth producing assets (blacks own less than 2 percent of all stocks and bonds, business and home equity, and money in banks).

A few examples of the discriminatory effects of shutdowns: when a laundry located in the city of St. Louis began to decentralize in 1964 its workforce was 75 percent black. By 1975, after it opened up 13 suburban facilities and reduced the downtown operations, the workforce was 5 percent black. In 1976 a Detroit manufacturer relocated production to its facility in a rural county just over the state line in Ohio. Salaried employees, most of whom were white, were offered assistance in finding new jobs. Hourly employees, most of whom were black, received no such aid. Minorities constituted 40 percent of the workforce at the Detroit facility when it closed compared to 2 percent at the Ohio plant.

No law or regulation explicitly addresses the discriminatory impact of corporate relocations. However, a number of civil rights attorneys including Rutgers law professor Alfred Blumrosen and former EEOC general counsel Stanley P. Herbert have argued, following the lead of the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Griggs* decision, that a relocation that has a disparate impact on minority employment violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which prohibits employment discrimination), unless the employer can demonstrate an overriding business necessity for the move.

If an employer moves, for example, from a predominately black central city to an all-white suburb, current minority employees may be adversely affected because they will tend to face greater difficulties securing housing in the new location, if they try, or will encounter higher transportation costs in commuting to the new location.

Under these conditions, it is argued, the burden is on the employer to prove an overriding business necessity. And even if the employer can do so, it is further argued, steps must be taken to mitigate the disparate impact such as provision of transportation allowances, aid in locating housing, pressure on local realtors and local officials to assure fair housing practices in the new community, direct provision of housing, considera-

tion of alternative sites that would be less discriminatory and reconsideration of the move altogether. Similarly, it is argued that Executive Order 11246, which requires non-discrimination and affirmative action by federal contractors, also calls for measures to correct the disparate impact of corporate relocations. Such interpretations have led civil rights advocates to file lawsuits against employers who have relocated (*Abney v. Budd* and *Bell v. Automobile Club of Michigan*) and to call for the EEOC and Department of Labor to develop and implement specific regulations on relocation.

But such regulations, no matter how effectively implemented, constitute marginal reforms that address only part of the problem. The fundamental issue underlying the "runaway plant" phenomenon and the discriminatory effects of economic dislocation is one of social control of the nation's resources. As one FTC consultant concluded:

"The private decisions of corporate owners and managers impose costs that affect other businesses, employees, and the community at large. The mental and physical well-being of the community is deleteriously affected; increased stress is placed upon the family; the quality of life in the community can be seriously decreased. Decisions with these wide-ranging effects cannot be viewed solely as private prerogatives; the internal decision-making calculations of the firm do not fully reflect actual costs. Public concern and participation is needed to insure that improperly estimated economic gains do not impose major economic costs."

Regulations that assure non-discrimination and affirmative action when a corporate relocation occurs represent one important part of an overall strategy to combat the deleterious consequences of uneven development. Legislative proposals for advanced notice of shutdown or substantial reduction of operations, severance pay to affected employees, contributions to economic development funds in affected communities, and employee or employee-community takeover of operations are prerequisites for an effective fight against the runaway plant. Among federal proposals currently under consideration are Representative Ford's National Employment Priorities Act of 1979, and Senator Williams' Employee Protection and Community Stabilization Act of 1979. State level proposals include Ohio's Community Readjustment Act, New Jersey's Employment Relocation Assistance Act, the Illinois Employer Relocation Act, and many others.

Racial minorities stand to benefit the most from these proposals. While not generally considered as such, these economic development initiatives are also, in fact, civil rights bills. The civil rights community cannot afford to ignore questions of economic rights. Similarly, those concerned about shutdowns and capital mobility in general can gain moral as well as political advantages by recognizing the civil rights implications of these issues and developing closer alliances with civil rights organizations.

Gregory D. Squires works for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Chicago.

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BOOKS

U.S. Dominican policy: "out of touch with reality"

THE DOMINICAN CRISIS: The 1965 Constitutional Revolt and American Intervention

By Peiro Gleijeses, translated by Lawrence Lipson
The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, 450 pp.

By Henry Berger

Natural disaster has visited the Dominican Republic in the past but never with quite the fury with which Hurricane David swept the small Caribbean island nation in the autumn of 1979. As one reads Peiro Gleijeses' extraordinary study of politics in the Dominican Republic, there is an overpowering temptation to conclude likewise that political crisis has often dominated the history of this unlucky country but never with such tragic results as occurred during the tortuous spring of 1965.

The military junta which, in September, has deposed the elected constitutional administration of Juan Bosch was itself overthrown on April 25, 1965, by those determined to restore the moderate, democratic reformist government they had elected over two years earlier. Their effort was aborted and crushed exactly three days later, on April 28, by a U.S. military intervention allegedly undertaken, in President Johnson's words, "to give protection to hundreds of Americans in the Dominican Republic."

It was, of course, not the first time an American president had used such a pretext to disguise and justify the intrusion of the marines into the Dominican Republic in order to take charge of affairs on behalf of the interests of American corporations. Indeed, such had been the case four times before in this century and Professor Gleijeses affirms that "the lie was as flagrant in 1965 as it had been on previous occasions."

Nor does Gleijeses accept the subsequent claim by the American embassy in Santo Domingo and the Johnson administration that the intervention was necessary to forestall a Communist takeover of what initially had been "a popular democratic revolution." No, he declares. "The Dominican far-left—Washington's nightmare—was strong only in the minds of its enemies." In Gleijeses' judgment, the Dominican revolt "came close to success" precisely because it was committed to "political and social democracy.... It afforded a unique opportunity for the Dominican people to break the chains of oppression. It could have shown a new, non-Cuban road toward social change in Latin America. Instead the Pax Ameri-

cana prevailed."

These appraisals are not new. Critics at the time and subsequently journalists and scholars effectively destroyed the web of half truths and falsehoods surrounding Johnson's proclaimed Dominican policy. But Gleijeses' book (an expanded revision of his Ph.D. dissertation) substantially advances knowledge of Dominican affairs and the meaning of U.S. foreign policy in Latin America.

His is the most detailed, documented, and clearly presented analysis of internal Dominican political developments during the 1960s within our reach. Gleijeses makes it clear, for example, in his sophisticated review of Dominican history, that from its hesitant beginnings as an independent republic in the nineteenth century to the termination of the seemingly endless Trujillo dictatorship in 1962, and then beyond, the military was the cutting edge of what passed for politics in the Dominican Republic.

It was the military officers who, on behalf of the propertied, "traditional" elements of Dominican society (the *gente de primera*), were prepared to "step in and defend 'Dios, Patria, Libertad.'" It was "their God, their country and their kind of liberty," Gleijeses notes, but so long as the system supplied the military their share of wealth and power, they defended it, even at the expense of most other Dominicans. As Rafael Bonnelly, one of the longest survivors of the Trujillo regime he helped to build, told his good friend, American ambassador John Bartlow Martin, "Interests are interests, and they are powerful."

Bosch's presidency.

Juan Bosch challenged the interests and he lost. Gleijeses does not portray Bosch's brief stay in power (February to September 1963) as faultless or without weaknesses. Bosch's presidency "did not realize the 'sweeping social reforms' the Dominican people expected," and his base of support eroded as a result. Juan Bosch was also "arrogant and vain.... He was an excellent novelist, but not a political theorist, nor, indeed, a towering figure of Latin American politics."

But, Gleijeses insists, "Bosch was not overthrown because he was arrogant and vain. Nor was he overthrown because of mistakes made during his short administration." He was "doomed from the start" because he sought to build a political and social democracy, an honest government opposed to but tolerant of communists and other political opponents. Even Ambassador Martin, who contributed to Bosch's downfall and be-

trayed the effort to restore him to power, acknowledged that his "brief administration may well have been the most honest in Dominican history, if not in Latin America." Bosch's attempts were destroyed by forces that, "in typical Latin American fashion, accepted political democracy only when it was divorced from social democracy."

Gleijeses holds the American government responsible in large measure for the triumph of forces opposed to Bosch's rule and his attempted return to office. In so doing, the author penetrates to the essence of the American liberal relationship with the Latin American "democratic left."

Gleijeses stresses the continuity of Latin American policies in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, policies that Gleijeses says were "coherent and logical" but the assumptions of which "were completely out of touch with reality." This fact, he says, explains the apparent confusion, lack of sophisticated judgment, and hesitancy that characterized American actions during the first hours of the revolt in April 1965. Marshalling impressive, persuasive and direct evidence, Gleijeses makes it clear that the U.S. opposed Bosch's return and decided that the revolt must be defeated from the start. The former Dominican leader was not sufficiently anti-Castro or anti-communist. He was too strong a nationalist and too much of a democrat. He believed in "real, rather than formal Dominican independence." The only acceptable members of the Latin American democratic left, so far as the members of the New Frontier and Johnson administrations were concerned, were the "safe" ones who put Washington's interests ahead of Latin American interests and social democracy. Failing that alternative, the U.S. relied on the Latin American military to protect its interests and defeat the perceived internal threat of Castro communism.

This was Kennedy's policy. It was Johnson's policy. It was the basis of American policies and actions in the Dominican Republic in April 1965. It was why Juan Bosch had to be rejected and defeated. Gleijeses concludes that "without the American intervention, Juan Bosch would have returned to complete his term as president of the Dominican Republic, and the great aim of the constitutionalist movement, already within reach on April 25, would have finally been achieved."

The U.S. secured a safe, strong, anti-communist government in the Dominican Republic. The country was "stabil-

ized" under Joaquin Balaguer, a former puppet of Trujillo, who ruled for the next 12 years. In May 1978 Balaguer was defeated in elections by Antonio Guzman, Bosch's successor as head of the *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* (PRD). Despite efforts by Balaguer and his supporters to abort the election results, Guzman was permitted to take office in August. But he is "safe." As the *Latin American Political Report* (May 12, 1978) noted, "The PRD is no longer the nationalist and semi-revolutionary party that it was in 1965" and this explains why the new American ambassador, Robert Yorst, could assure every-one on his arrival in Santo Domingo, just before the elections took place, that "his government would continue to maintain close and friendly relations with the Dominican Republic, whoever wins."

Which perhaps also helps to explain why the Guzman regime has been afflicted with political unrest since taking office, including violent riots during the summer of 1979. And now the devastation of tropical storms. As one villager lamented, "We are totally destroyed. There is nothing left."

Henry W. Berger is associate professor of history at Washington University in St. Louis.

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Missiles

Continued from page 4.

ly in place before 1989. If vulnerability is a serious problem, what are we to do in the meantime? Also, it is one thing to match the number of Soviet warheads to the number of American ICBMs, quite another to assume that a highly complex, never-before-attempted, coordinated surprise first strike would be overwhelmingly effective. Even if Soviet planners thought it could succeed, there is absolutely no reason for them to doubt that the U.S. would respond with its remaining nuclear forces against Soviet cities and industrial regions. Such enormous destruction of Soviet society is a lot to risk on what Brown once termed "a single cosmic throw of the dice."

Whose first strike?

Contrary to what the vulnerability argument implies, MX critics say, the missile is not defensive but offensive, a first-strike counterforce weapon. While there are not enough MX warheads to threaten all Soviet land-based missiles—a fact

that, according to the Air Force, proves that the missile is necessarily a second-strike weapon—they are adequate to destroy those that carry silo-busting warheads. And when put in the context of total U.S. weapons development (including the Trident submarine-launched missiles) MX will contribute to the creation of a comprehensive, pre-emptive first-strike capability for the U.S. by the early 1990s.

The end-point of this highly technical debate is that the real justification for MX is to be found not in the hard-numbers realm of warheads and "throw-weights" but in the murky world of superpower perceptions. According to Lou Montulli, the real issue is "the Soviets' perception of our intent." It's not enough to "convince some rational individual at a cocktail party that, yes, we can destroy them. I can't depend that there will always be rational leadership over there." Thus, the necessity of "massive retaliatory capacity" to deliver a clear politico-military message to the Soviets and the rest of the world about U.S. resolution and will.

But the perceptions game is highly ambiguous and how the Soviets will read this particular message impossible to predict. MX will block for good the already stalled momentum of arms con-

trol. If U.S. planners worry about the vulnerability of less than half our nuclear arsenal, how will their Soviet counterparts interpret a weapons system that threatens 75 percent of their nuclear forces based on land? What if the Soviets expand their warheads and missiles beyond the limits defined in SALT II in order to target the entire complex of MX launching sites many times over? And what if they build a mobile system of their own that is not verifiable by U.S. satellites?

Lou Montulli has answers for all these questions. If the Soviets build more warheads, the Air Force will build more shelters—up to 9,200, if necessary. If they "play a 1930, Nazi Germany game, creating a war machine" then we can confront the option of abrogating our one arms control treaty with the Soviets—the ABM Treaty—so as to install a "low altitude defense system." And if the Soviets introduce an ABM of their own? It is a never-ending game of measure and counter-measure that threatens to dangerously destabilize the fragile structure on which nuclear deterrence has rested for nearly 20 years.

Next week Robert Howard will report on political opposition to the MX system.



Klimt's women challenged traditional bourgeois values.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

Visions of the future
in Freud's Vienna

FIN-DE-SIECLE VIENNA:

Politics and Culture

By Carl E. Schorske

Alfred A. Knopf, \$15.95

By Ulf Zimmermann

In 1900 Sigmund Freud published his *Interpretation of Dreams*. In publicly exposing these irrational, wishful sexual-psychological forces that the former century had kept under the mantle of rationalism, the book, like the year, distinguishes between 19th-century rational and 20th-century psychological man. In an otherwise eclectic collection of essays on some of the men and movements that acted the midwife to our 20th century, Carl Schorske makes this one of the cutting distinctions throughout.

The chronological and cultural centrality of this distinction might be one reason that he has made his chapter on "Politics and Patricide in Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*" the central one of his seven separate essays into Viennese "Politics and Culture." It is also the shortest one and makes its point, as the title suggests, most

directly.

Because of the personal and professional frustrations Freud and many of his Viennese fellows suffered as liberalism slumped into impotence, their public and political ambitions became repressed and translated

The public exposure of irrational man produced first cultural conflict, then a new politics.

into psychological patricide. Rendered impotent themselves to become actors in the political arena, displacing and standing in for their parents' generation, they acted out their ambitions in the private pits of their psyches. The resulting ahistorical theory

of man and society facilitated anew the inward escape that 20th-century intellectuals (and others) have repeatedly taken—most notably for the U.S., as Schorske points out in his introduction, during the '50s.

Klimt's images of women were as palpably sensual as they were infinitely suggestive. They challenged, moreover, the rational values of bourgeois liberals, as demonstrated in their rejection of Klimt's representation of philosophy for the university as "nebulous" and "fantastic." This was, after all, a time when philosophy "sought truth in the exact sciences."

Public exposure of psychological man did then produce political conflict. But in cases like the portrayal of Philosophy, the conflict was still confined to the city's cultural and political elite. To foment serious and widespread conflict through such artistic conjurations of the psychological required an altogether different sort of medium and artist. This was provided in the "politics in a sharper key" of the "Austrian trio." These "virtuosi" were Georg von Schoen-

Continued on page 15.

FILM

On Company Business lets CIA indict itself

By Michael Gallantz

A film documents the worldwide crimes of the CIA over three decades, identifies six American presidents as behind-the-scenes culprits, and implicates the news media, liberal politicians, and labor bureaucracy as accessories. The film gets standing ovations from packed houses and must-see reviews from the major papers.

No, it's not happening in Cuba but right here. And it's on television.

On Company Business, a three hour documentary directed by Allan Francovich, co-produced by Francovich and Howard Dratch and edited by Veronica Selver, has received audience and media acclaim at press and festival screenings in Berlin, Los Angeles, New York, and the Bay Area. Francovich expects four million people to see it in three one-hour segments on the Non-Fiction TV series (IN THESE TIMES, Apr. 23) that began May 9 and continues May 16 and 23.

On Company Business brings together a vast amount of information buried until now in already forgotten magazine articles or scattered among the myriad CIA diaries. But it's the way this film brings the material together that gives it its unique impact. Through a montage of interviews, newsreels and stock footage, the CIA gets hoisted on its own petard.

Ex-CIA director William Col-

by allows that, yes, CIA did try to kill Castro, but no evidence exists of any other assassination attempts—cut to a newsreel showing Congolese nationalist leader Lumumba a captive of a laughing General Mobutu—cut to John Stockwell, ex-CIA Angola operative, telling of a CIA colleague driving around with Lumumba's body in his trunk and of the CIA's problem: "We couldn't just poison him [Lumumba] at an embassy party; that would be too obvious."

On Company Business runs for three hours without a word of narration. The film makes its points with contrasts, and one contrast is between its avoidance of all narration and the style of the newsreel footage that peppers the film. The newsreels talk at us, and in the end lie; this film makes us see.

The filmmakers allow William Colby to state the film's point most explicitly: the CIA was no "rogue elephant" but a faithful executor of the bipartisan foreign policy of six administrations.

Francovich spoke to IN THESE TIMES about the film's background and artistic and political implications.

What was the most difficult part of your work?

Fund raising. Ultimately the film cost \$350,000, and we had to focus on filmmaking and fund-raising at the same time. We got money in \$500 and \$1000 chunks. Until the very end we

got no money from foundations or PBS, just the hard way.

But the TV Laboratory people at WNET in New York did help in the end.

Yes, they have a sense of adventure. The money they gave us made it possible to finish earlier.

How did you get the interviews?

Colby and these other people are doing many interviews. Colby wrote a book and appeared on talk shows. Part of his job was PR, and he's used to appearing

in the media and in getting his way with it. But we had pieces of the jig-saw puzzle that they didn't know we had. Usually the people they give interviews to haven't done this meticulous research.

Did you decide that narration was inappropriate for this film, or do you have a broader case against it?

I don't like objective narrations. It's a manipulative technique, and there's no need for it in doc-

umentaries if you know what you're doing. Also, it has a credibility problem. No matter how objective it sounds, it's a point of view superimposed through a voice.

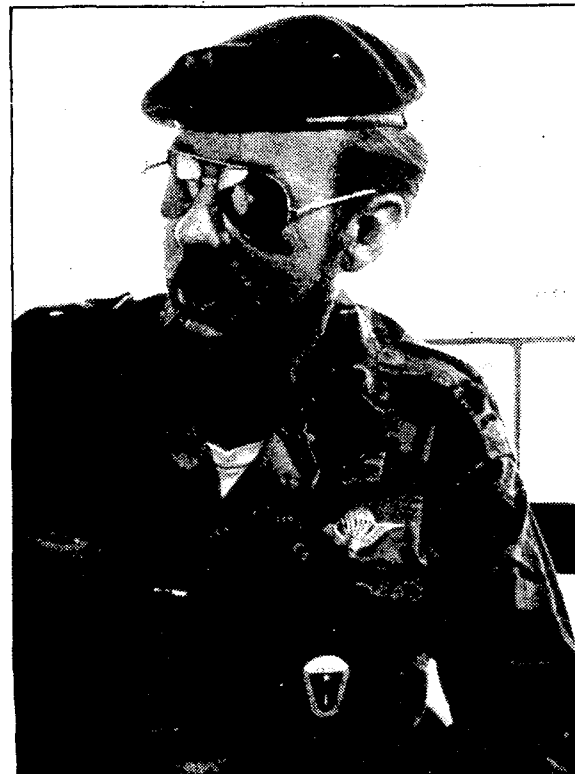
Will people be able to perceive some of the more subtle themes of the film?

Not necessarily. But most of the audience gets the principal points. Others will get more; the

Continued on page 15.



Jesse Leaf, a CIA analyst on Iran (left) and David Bufkin, a mercenary from Angola (right) were interviewed for the film.



MUSIC FESTIVAL

By Don McLeese

Out of the nine performing stages at the 11th annual New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival this April, there were only two where one knew exactly what to expect. At one end of the fair grounds was the Gospel Tent. At the other was the Jazz Tent ("jazz" in New Orleans denoting what the rest of the world calls traditional or Dixieland jazz).

Saints and sinners; church and cat-house. The twin pillars of American music.

Polarities, to be sure, but what's most striking is how similar the atmosphere is in the two tents. The music in both goes to work on the body before the head has a chance to catch its bearings. Both are joyously rhythmic—plenty of hand-clapping and foot-stomping in each tent. Both are good-time musics that persevere in the face of hard times. The music in each tent is difficult to resist.

The spirit in these two tents permeates the fest as a whole. Despite an opening afternoon downpour that threatened to turn the fair grounds into another Louisiana marsh, it takes more than a little mud to keep the good times from rolling, New Orleans style.

"Jazz & Heritage" is a little misleading. Branching out from its gospel and Dixieland roots, the festival offers plenty of diversity—from the rave-up zydeco of Clifton Chenier and Rockin' Dopsie to the delicate ragtime of Grandma Dixie Davis; from the lilting calypso of Irving McLean to the high-octane funk of ex-Meter George Porter's Joyride; from the sweet soul stylings of Allen Toussaint and Lee Dorsey to the abrasive homegrown punk of the Sex Dogs. With nine stages operating continuously six hours a day, there is always something for everyone—more great music than any one person can possibly absorb.

And music is only part of the attraction. With its emphasis on heritage as well as music, the fest takes pains to place the music within a cultural context. The food at the fair grounds is as New Orleans as the music—jambalaya, crawfish, barbeque goat, and hot boudin are only a few of the homegrown delicacies available. Performing stages are also surrounded by booths displaying the wares of various local craftsmen and artisans. This is a city that is proud of both its music and its culture, and understands the relationship between the two.

Although the festival has



Fats Domino owes a debt to "Fess."



Local musicians (above, a marching band) are the mainstay of the festival.

Saints meet sinners at New Orleans jazzfest

The memory of Professor Longhair, "the Bach of rock," was everywhere in this celebration of the vitality of a regional culture.

come to attract quite a few tourists, there is little effort made to pander to the tourist sensibility. A few out-of-town headliners are imported each year—Jerry Lee Lewis, Muddy Waters and Dave Brubeck were among those who appeared at this year's fest—but the mainstays of the festival are New Orleans musicians whose local reputation exceeds their national recognition.

The fest offers a rare chance to see a set by Allen Toussaint, studio wizard behind so many New Orleans hits over the years. It presents the hitmakers from a previous era—Ernie K. Doe ("Mother-in-Law"), Robert Parker ("Barefootin'"), Lee Dorsey ("Working in a Coal Mine")—artists who still work the local circuit. It offers exposure to the back-country musicians—the cajuns, the Creoles, the country-blues artists—and to the big-city jazz bands alike. It gives wandering native sons such as acoustic guitarist Chris Smithers and jazz drummer Ed Blackwell—who brought his Old and New Dreams quartet to the fest—a chance to return home.

Musical hotbed.

Ignored in recent years by the record companies and the media, New Orleans remains a hotbed of musical activity. And a profound influence, at least as far as other musicians are concerned.

When the Specials, England's hot ska revivalists, came to the

States, their first priority was to go hear New Orleans' Professor Longhair. For their recent American tour, the Clash hand-picked Lee Dorsey as opening act. Warren Zevon's current hit "A Certain Girl" is a re-make of an old Ernie K. Doe number. Toussaint has worked with Paul McCartney, the Band, LaBelle and countless other artists. Reggae owes a heavy debt to the New Orleans sound.

What is the New Orleans sound? It's a lot easier to enjoy than to analyze or describe. It's a music dominated by rhythm—African rhythms, Caribbean rhythms (as befits a Southern port), the distinctive second-line rhythm of the street parades and funerals. It's upbeat music, dance music, party music. Given the common spirit that pervades the sound of New Orleans, a major attraction of the fest is seeing how easily musicians adapt to different forms—the guitarist backing a blues-harp player early in the day might show up in a funk band by late afternoon; the saxophonist blowing behind a vocal group one day might return with an avant-garde jazz band the next. In New Orleans, the musicians flow as easily as the music.

Certainly no one epitomized New Orleans music better than Henry Roeland Byrd, popularly known as Professor Longhair, to whom this year's festival was dedicated. The good Professor died in his sleep a couple months

New Orleans rock'n'roll piano, which is about the same as saying the father of rock piano.

Although Longhair never received the popular recognition he deserved, his influence can be heard in New Orleans recordings from the early hits by Fats Domino and Huey "Piano" Smith up through more recent work by the Meters and Allen Toussaint (who once proclaimed Fess "the Bach of rock"). The memory of Longhair was evident everywhere—on T-shirts, posters, programs; through musicians' reminiscences and tributes. A banner over Stage 4, where Longhair always played at the fest, will from now on commemorate it as Longhair's stage.

It's only fitting that the festival's most exciting performance took place on Stage 4. The final set of the first weekend, it started off with the Neville Brothers, New Orleans' favorite sons. The band includes keyboardist Art Neville, formerly with the Meters, brother Aaron, whose gospel-tinged tenor has grown richer since his '60s hit "Tell It Like It Is," and assorted other brothers, family and friends. Their 45-minute set mixed ethereal harmonies with a powerful percussive attack that had the crowd stomping from beginning to end. It was a revelation for anyone familiar with the Nevilles only through their Capitol album.

With the crowd yelling for an encore, a surprise was announced. Instead of the Nevilles' returning, the stage was turned over to a reunion of the original Meters—the first time in three years. From the reaction of the local music fans, one might have thought that the Beatles had reformed. After a couple of numbers—funk at its finest—the ante at Stage 4 was upped once again as the Wild Tchoupitoulas, a Mardi Gras tribe dressed in full regalia, took over the vocals. What had started as a performance turned into pure celebration—by the time the music ended, it seemed that half the musicians in New Orleans were on that stage.

Which is what makes the Jazz & Heritage Festival so special. In an era of creeping homogeneity, the fest affirms the vitality of an indigenous culture. It presents music as a natural part of people's lives rather than as pre-packaged "entertainment" bestowed from outside. For anyone interested in both the roots and the potentialities of popular music, a trip to the New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival is an essential pilgrimage.

Don McLeese writes on music for Chicago newspapers.



The Wild Tchoupitoulas in their Mardi Gras costumes sang with the Meters.

ago, on the night before his fine *Crawfish Fiesta* album (Alligator Records) was released. He was revered locally as the father of

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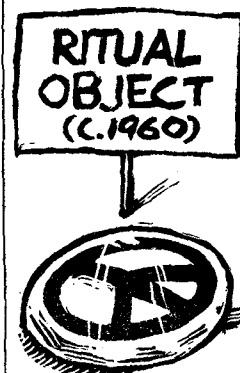
The University of California, Riverside, now offers a history course on the social protest days of the '60s, reports Zodiac.

The history department decided to offer the popular course after a student, seeing a re-run of *The Graduate*, complained that a lot seemed

to have happened in the '60s but no one could explain it.

TUNE IN TO PROFITS

NBC makes a clear profit of \$400,000 on every original episode of *Little House on the Prairie*, with much higher profits on reruns, reports *Variety*. *Chips* clears almost \$300,000, and *Quincy* yields \$186,000 per original episode.



Tom Greenfelder

Lebanon

Continued from page 7.

"Israel wants to empty southern Lebanon of its inhabitants, just keeping the Christians that are willing to go along with Israeli occupation."

What about Israel's claims to be protecting the Christians of Lebanon?

"Israel lets the Palestinians or Syrians attack the Christians from time to time, so they will turn to Israel. It's all part of the game," according to Edde.

"I accuse Israel of wanting to set off an exodus of Christians. It bothered Israel to be the only religious state in the region, next to Lebanon with its 17 different religious communities all enjoying full rights."

According to Edde, Kissinger's plan was to divide Lebanon into two main parts along the Beirut-Damascus road—a Christian Lebanon in the north, and a Moslem Lebanon south of that dividing line, while leaving Israel a buffer zone south of the Litani. "His idea was to install the 400,000 Palestinians in the Moslem part, south of the Beirut-Damascus road and north of the Litani. Because he thought that if you made a Moslem Lebanon, it could absorb the Palestinians. Kissinger was wrong, because even the Moslems don't want the Palestinians to settle there, and even the Palestinians don't want to be integrated into Lebanon because they want an independent homeland in Palestine."

De facto partition.

"But in a way the Kissinger plan worked, because there is a *de facto* partition. And fighting is still going on. This suits Israel anyway, because it has set off an exodus

of Christians. If the Christians leave, Israel can hope to take Lebanon's place as bridge to the West. Lebanon has played this role for centuries. Being intermediary between East and West is what made Lebanon's fortune. Now, it's not Islam that can play that role, it's the Christians of Lebanon. That is why Israel has an interest in keeping the fighting going, to get the Christians to leave.

"The United States has made a lot of propaganda in the last three or four years directed at Lebanese Christians, urging them to come to America. So have Canada and Australia. We got the feeling there was a sort of agreement among those countries to facilitate the exodus of Christians. In Beirut, there are people lining up every day for visas in front of the Australian, Canadian and American embassies and most of them are Christians. An estimated 600,000 Christians have already left Lebanon.

"The partition of Lebanon has in fact been carried out. I call this a plan, although of course a plan like that isn't carried out with precision down to the last millimeter, lots of unexpected things happen.

"Anyway, today Syria occupies 85 percent of Lebanese territory. Israel controls 10 percent, everything south of the Litani. UN troops were sent in two years ago, which was a step in the right direction. That allowed some refugees to return south of the Litani. But the UN troops have not fulfilled their mission of taking back the whole territory from Israel so constituted Lebanese authorities can take control. Israel still occupies Lebanese territory, either through Hadad, armed and commanded by Israel, or its own forces stationed in six villages along the border.

"Then in the mountains, 4.5 percent of the territory, what I call the Maronite ghetto, is occupied by Chamoun's mercenaries and the Phalangists, a Nazi par-

ty, a pro-Israel Nazi party. That leaves about .5 percent of the territory under control of the official Lebanese government of President Sarkis. So the plan worked, Lebanon has been destroyed."

A Nazi movement.

Asked how a Nazi movement developed in Lebanon, the Lebanese party leader does not explain the phenomenon in sociological terms but by the personal quirks of a ruling class he knows well. "Gemayel founded the Phalangist party after visiting Berlin in his youth. He attended the Olympics, saw crowds shouting 'Heil Hitler!' and admired all that discipline. He organized his party along Nazi lines, using Nazi methods. Those German methods work very well for an army, now Israel uses them.

"In my region, in the Christian region, which also has Shi'ites and other Moslems, I have lots of supporters, Christian supporters who are against the extreme right. My electoral district is occupied by Phalangist forces. The majority is for me, but they're a silent majority, because they're not armed. My party is a democratic party, and I believe that only the government should have an army in a democratic system.

"The entire north of the country, which is mostly Christian, is against the Phalangists. But people don't dare say so." According to Edde, the Christian part of Lebanon has the misfortune of having not one but two "Somozas"—Chamoun and Gemayel. "They control the customs, the ports, taxes. If you sell a piece of land, the Phalange takes 5 percent. It's a huge scandal."

Edde also said, "Even Camille Chamoun, who is also responsible for what has happened, is afraid of the Phalange, because it wants to reign alone in the ghetto. The military chief is Gemayel's second son, Bashir, who is impatiently awaiting his father's death so he can get rid of his brother and become the Hitler of the small part of Lebanon that is almost entirely Maronite."

Edde predicts that "the plan I have been denouncing since 1974 is also going to start being applied to Syria. Israel's idea is to divide up Syria between an Alouite state, the minority that President Assad belongs to, with 10 percent of the population, a Sunni state and a Druze state."

Edde reaches the usual conclusion that to have peace, the Palestinians must be granted a homeland. But he fears that "Israel must have war. The day there is peace, the diaspora will stop sending money, youth will no longer be drawn by the ideal of saving the land of their ancestors. Right now, there are a lot of good businessmen who would like to leave Israel, they could make a better living in commerce spread out instead of all grouped together. What holds them back? The warning, watch out, you'll be massacred by the Arabs. I fear there may never be peace between Israel and the Arab world because to survive as it is Israel needs the danger of war.

"The reproach I make to the American administration, especially Mr. Kissinger, is that to help Israel, they destroyed Lebanon. But all that strife can get out of hand; it's spreading all over the region. You protest when the Soviet Union invades Afghanistan, but when Syria invaded Lebanon, everyone applauded. You should have protected Lebanon; it's a country in the image of America, of Europe."

He is about to make a trip to Washington "to try to find out what is the current plan of the American administration" for his country.

Nearly five years ago, Edde predicted that eventually some major American newspaper would confirm his accusations against Kissinger. He praised "the American democratic tradition" of "telling the public everything." But he added that: "Unfortunately, the revelations are generally made after the plan has either succeeded or failed, after the catastrophe, with all the misery it entails, has already happened."

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$10.00 for two insertions and \$5.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

May 16/Washington, DC
Benefit concert for the Highlander Research and Education Center. Bernice Reagon, Hazel Dickens, Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick, Charlie Sayles. Peoples Congregational Church, 4704 13th St., NW, 8:00 \$3.00. Tickets at door or from Friends of Highlander, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20007.

New York, NY

John Duggan, who recently returned from a six-month field research trip in Eritrea, will speak on **The War in Eritrea: A First-Hand Report on Three Movements**. Friday at 7:30 p.m. at John Jay College, 445 West 59th St. (between 9th and 10th). Admission \$1.

May 18/Los Angeles, CA

Robin Tyler, nationally known stand-up comic and feminist activist, will discuss **A Political History of Comedy: a critique of the corporate control of entertainment**, including her experiences as a woman comic. Sponsored by New American Movement, 2936 W. 8th St. 8:00 p.m. Donation is \$2.00.

Oakland, CA

Northern California Conference on Occupational Stress will feature **Lillian Rubin, Michael Lerner, Jimmy Herman**, and workshops, films, entertainment, and activities for children. Elected officials will be there to take testimony on work stress to determine if stress should be considered a legitimate Occupational Safety and Health hazard. So come and tell your story about stress in the work place. Sponsored by SEIU locals, CWA, Teamsters, Machinists, Postal Workers, Transit Workers, Firefighters, AFT, CLUW, and

The Institute for Labor and Mental Health. 10:30 a.m. to 6 p.m. at Merritt College. More info: (415)653-6166.

May 24/Orlando, FL

Festival for Human Concern, rally to protest national cuts in social spending. Series of speakers, music, etc. Will address national spending priorities. Saturday, May 24, 2-6 p.m. Lake Eola Park. Contact: 894-1345.

Chicago, IL

Women's Music Workshop by **Torie Osborn** for NAM's Second City Socialist School. At 2:00 p.m. at Parish of Reconciliation Church, 1655 W. School Street. Admission is \$2.00.

May 29/New York, NY

The Fund for Open Information and Accountability, Inc., and clients of **Mike Perlin** and **Dave Scribner** celebrate the victory in the lawsuit preventing FBI's destruction of files. Loeb Student Center, N.Y.U. Buffet Dinner and Program begin 6:00 p.m. \$15.00. For reservations call (212) 730-8095.

May 31/Chicago, IL

Erwin Knoll, editor of *The Progressive*, and **John H.F. Shattuck**, ACLU Director/ Washington DC, will speak on "The Civil Liberties Connection in the 80's: Nuclear Power, the Draft and the CIA," at the **Annual Spring Supper of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights**, at De Paul University, 2324 N. Seminary. Admission is \$10.00. For more information call (312) 939-0675.

June 3/Long Island, NY

Jack Everett Defense Fund Benefit Concert. Formerly a construction worker at the Shoreham nuke, Jack lost his job for publicly testifying to defects. **Guy Davis, Kate Rotolo, and Pete Seeger** will make music to raise funds for Jack's court battle for a worker's right to speak out. 7:30 p.m. Tuesday, Suffolk Theater, Riverhead. \$5.00. Tickets and information: Shoreham Defense Committee, 3 Highland Road, Glen Cove, NY 11542.

Anderson

Continued from page 3.

urban poor. His one point of agreement with the Ripon Anderson is over the 50¢ gas tax.

Rohatyn is not the only advocate of state capitalist planning among Anderson's advisers and spokespersons. New York investment analyst Henry Kaufman is also on Anderson's economic advisory committee. And Harvard Business School professor George Cabot Lodge, one of the most prominent academic proponents of corporate-dominated state planning, is a key Anderson spokesman in New England. To satisfy Massachusetts ballot laws, Lodge even agreed to be Anderson's temporary vice-presidential choice.

Anderson's infatuation with Rohatyn and these other thinkers has reportedly caused some consternation among his Ripon backers. They see Rohatyn-type planning as a threat to capitalist free-

dom and republican government. They would tend to see his revived Reconstruction Finance Corporation as closer to "bureaucratized alphabet soup" than to "creative government." And they would tend to see more of Benito Mussolini than John Locke in his proposed "social compact" between business, labor and government.

Anderson is caught in the middle. As a presidential candidate who must win the liberal Northeast and Midwest to stand a chance, he can generally be expected to follow Rohatyn rather than Ripon. A program of creative destruction of industry through competition can hardly be expected to win Anderson much support in New York, Pennsylvania or Michigan.

But as president, it is unclear which direction Anderson would follow. Carter had to choose in 1977 between his campaign policy adviser Lawrence Klein's corporate liberalism and Charles Schultze's newfound faith in the market, and he chose Schultze. If Anderson can overcome the formidable odds against him and win the presidency, he will have to choose between Rohatyn and Ripon. ■

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Vienna

Continued from page 12.

er of the Pan-Germans and Karl Lueger of the Christian Socialists, both "inspirers and political models of Adolf Hitler"; and, answering them both, Theodor Herzl, who pioneered a chief escape route for Hitler's victims. They practiced "a mode of political behavior at once more abrasive, more creative, and more satisfying to the life of feeling than the deliberative style of the liberals." For this trio art lay in "the peculiar gift of answering the social and spiritual needs of their followers by composing ideological collages—collages made of fragments of modernity, glimpses of futurity, and resurrected remnants of a half-forgotten past."

Architecture.

While we know all too well the murderous course mass movements later took, it is worth going back to Vienna to see that there were other visions of the possible future of a mass society. This vision found its lapidary expression in the demonstratively egalitarian and smoothly functional (yet by no means graceless or impersonal) architecture of Otto Wagner. His work represents the capstone of the long process of building the Ringstrasse (formerly something of a "greenbelt" encircling the central city). It is to this process, which encompasses his whole period, that Schorske devotes his longest chapter.

He begins with the ascendance to power of the bourgeois liberals and their raising of "stylistically imposing" constructions of eclectic historicism, whose fronts were as false to the times as their political triumph would prove empty. And he ends with the future-oriented, optimistically human and habitable urban modernism of Otto Wagner, who—before he too found himself forced into the artist's retreat into isolation—envisioned in place of a museum a "dynamic showcase" for the works of those contemporary artists "whose creation corresponds to the sensibility and spirit of their time."

Such subordination of disciplines and individuals to a single point of view, especially one as level and embracing as Schorske's, rewards the reader with many a novel revelation—in history, in politics and culture, and in their otherwise invisible interweavings. Yet it is precisely the virtue of this approach that makes one wish Schorske had applied it to single, integrated treatment of the period rather than to a number of independent essays, deftly and discriminatingly executed as they are. One could wish, too, since their arrangement seems almost random, that something of a crowning synthesis had been provided to offset that. But, as he acknowledges at the outset, they are independent forays into different fields, extending over nearly 20 years. Each essay individually—and the Ringstrasse one in particular—makes highly illuminating reading.

Ulf Zimmermann writes on German history and on urban affairs.

CIA

Continued from page 12.

film has some depth to it. People can see it again; they can see it three years later when they've developed a better understanding and can see more in it. There's a danger of being esoteric, but there's also a danger of underestimating your audience.

Senator Frank Church, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, and Senator Charles Percy appear in the film as defenders of CIA policies. At the end Percy and Church criticize the CIA, but CIA defector Victor Marchetti tells us that the Church committee didn't get anything the CIA didn't give it. Did you intend a critique of liberalism?

Our goal was to be true to the historical record, and there's something disturbing about seeing Senators scapegoating the CIA and calling it a rogue elephant when they know damn well the CIA has been essentially implementing congressional and presidential policy. There's a myth that heroic senators opposed this. Church was aware of CIA operations, and it would be untrue not to point this out. Some people argue whether Adlai knew of the Bay of Pigs or didn't. It doesn't matter. The CIA will deliberately not inform someone, and a president or a senator can avoid responsibility. That's part of the game.

How do you evaluate independent filmmaking today?

I think there's a renaissance in the last couple of years. *Northern Lights*, a modest film relating to an important part of American history—and being seen by people. That's the crucial part—not just making films but getting them seen. A film like *The Wobblies* is also a step forward. And a person who in her films and as a person is one of the most extraordinary political filmmakers working is Barbara Kopple, because she made a very fine film, *Harlan County*, and could have gone on to make bigger films on TV and features, but has persisted in making films on subjects that she thinks important, the struggles of ordinary people, without soft edges.

Why hasn't this carried over into fiction films more?

Partly it's a financing problem. The other thing is to have enough clarity and faith to believe you can. Take, for example, Francesco Rossi's *Christ*

Stopped at Eboli, a very, very modest film, shot on location with Italian peasants. It's a beautiful film to watch, extremely well acted with professional actors and townspeople. Every other country in the world has done this type of film, but here once people are successful they go the five to ten million dollar budget Hollywood route.

How did working on this film change your own conception of the CIA?

I developed respect for the virtues of some in the CIA—loyalties and discipline—and enormous respect for those like Agee and Stockwell, who had the courage in lonely circumstances to break with the course of their lives for 40 or 50 years and come to terms with the world anew.

The strength of the film comes out of the strength of people like these.

Michael Gallant is a San Francisco film critic.

April 25, 1980
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ART

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"There are three more nigger males over there, one of 'em shot in the arm, one of 'em shot in the leg and one of 'em somewhere else...they aren't hurt all that bad...them...two nigger gals...shot in the arm, I believe...here's another one, let me see what this is..."

More than 400 shots peppered students and these dormitories May 14, 1970.



"We got two students 10-7 (out of service) here."

Jackson State College student Philip Gibbs and Jackson high school student James Earl Green lay dying as Mississippi State Patrolmen Inspector Lloyd Jones radioed this message from the JSC campus on May 14, 1970.

When the deafening volley of some 400 gunshots faded, Gibbs and Green lay dead, the fifth and sixth fatalities of police-student confrontations that May. Twelve others were wounded, two fatally. Just ten days earlier, four others fell under Ohio National Guard bullets during an anti-war demonstration at Kent State University, 750 miles to the north.

Kent State shocked the nation and the unnerving proximity and similarity of the JSC killings momentarily focused the nation's attention on the small black college in the middle of Jackson's black community. But once the FBI agents and Presidential Commission investigators left, public outrage melted away. Meanwhile Kent State became a catchword for a generation, an inspiration for a song, plays, books, articles and most recently a three-part network documentary now in production.

Nothing illustrates the disparity better than the 10-year anniversary memorials on the two campuses this month. Television and newspaper reporters descended on the Kent campus, as they regularly have for lesser anniversaries, to report on speeches by well-known activists like Stokely Carmichael, William Kunstler and Bella Abzug.

Jackson State's memorial, the first in several years, lists a tentative schedule of speakers including Constance Slaughter, a lawyer who filed an ultimately fruitless civil suit on behalf of the victims' families, and the parents of James Earl Green. The memorial will culminate in a simple candlelight service.

Racial atmosphere.

Jackson State never became the *cause celebre* Kent State did, some say, because the gathering of 100 students the night was not to protest the Vietnam war, though there had been an anti-war demonstration the night before. In comparison, the thousands who flocked to Kent State, mobilized by anti-war sentiment, were responsible in a large part for keeping the issue alive.

Yet perhaps the most telling reason for Jackson State's acquired obscurity are that the deaths occurred at a struggling black college, which deliberately down-toned its outrage to avoid becoming controversial.

May 14, 1970, was not the first time that southern black students were fired upon. Three years earlier three were killed and 27 others injured in a riot over the integration of a bowling alley near South Carolina State College in Orangeburg. That same year, 22-year-old civil rights worker Benjamin Brown was fatally shot on the JSC campus during a march.

On the muggy May 14 evening, Lynch Street, the thoroughfare that bisects the campus, was again the scene of rock-throwing disturbances, as it had been for previous years. One student characterized

the general discontent: "When you go to class every day in overcrowded classrooms, and it is hot and sweaty in there, you just get fed up with it. You know you should have had more classrooms, and your classrooms should have been cool. You just got to do something."

Some 50 state troopers and Jackson police stood near the students clustered in front of the women's dorm, separated by a four-foot fence. Without warning, they leveled a 30-second volley that raked the crowd and all five stories of the dorm. No order to fire was given, although one report cites an unidentified policeman yelling "ladies and gentlemen" just before the shooting started. Though police claimed sniper fire provoked the attack no shot was mentioned on the police radio until the firing began.

Later testimony suggested that police may have responded less to the rock-throwing than to taunts from black male students that black men were in bed with the officers' wives and daughters while police were on duty. One officer reportedly said, "We may not have as high a tolerance for insults from Negroes as some northern city policemen do."

North and South.

"People got more upset over Kent State because the kids were white," asserts Fred Banks, who served on Jackson Mayor Russell Davis' investigatory panel and now is a state legislator.

Reuben Anderson, Bank's co-panelist and now a judge, puts it this way: "One happened in the North and one in the South."

In an unprecedented move, Mayor Davis appointed a bi-racial committee to investigate and recommend preventive measures. But the state patrol, the Jackson police and state Governor John Bell Williams disavowed the bi-racial panel.

But a subsequent FBI investigation dismissed the police contention that officers were responding to a sniper in a dorm window, pointing out that all the bullets found were from police weapons, and the

Presidential Commission on Campus Unrest blasted the shooting as a "completely unwarranted and unjustified" attack. The commission deplored the "impression that police need not fear official punishment or even censure for regressive action against blacks."

Yet two grand juries absolved all police and public officials. One grand jury member, L. Morris Spivey, dissented from the Hinds County jury conclusions and was slapped with a contempt of court citation. Some in the community say Spivey suffered retribution after knowledge of his dissent was published.

The mayoral committee, which continued an investigation despite the stonewalling from the governor and police, called for—among other things—closing of Lynch Street and recommended that patrolmen not be used for riot control in Jackson.

The city responded by closing Lynch with a six-foot fence, and the Jackson Chamber of Commerce proposed a battery of civic improvements, among them reopening public swimming pools (closed in 1963 to avoid integration) and building new ones.

Jackson—all different?

Gradually through the '70s, black and white children began to swim together at public pools and the color change became evident, too, at many levels of government.

"Things in Jackson are 100 percent different. We have the same problems as northern cities, but race is not the primary issue," says Judge Anderson.

"Look at what happened in the past 10 years. Fred Banks is a major political figure. I'm on the bench now, and [attorney] Connie Slaughter's a strong appointed figure." (Slaughter is now head of the state's Office of Human Development.)

Jackson State, too, changed much in the past decade. The 4,500 student enrollment of the '70s has grown to nearly 8,000, a substantial accomplishment in light of most black schools' decline over

the same period. The budget has increased to over \$30 million, and the campus has ten new buildings.

But bitterness haunts Anderson's voice as he remembers Jackson State then. "Nothing constructive came out of that incident."

Indeed, the decade's progress report also shows a civil lawsuit five years in the courts that produced nothing for the wounded and families of the dead. "They admitted the police conduct was wrongful, but since we could not pinpoint who specifically fired the fatal and wounding shots," no one was liable, Banks explains.

The years have not erased fears that reviving Jackson State memories could have a negative effect.

In his legislative post, Banks has an additional perspective to the situation at Jackson State now. "The university is struggling for survival, like all traditionally black colleges. Each year they have to fight for their share of funding," Banks reports.

The administration may soft-pedal 1970 memories to maintain diplomacy at the state house. "I don't think Kent State may have the same problem with obtaining funding," Banks continues.

Additionally Banks says, "On at least two occasions police have been called on campus and people have been shot. I don't think the administration would want to run the risk of having police come back" for a memorial service.

Apparently the same thought is on some students' minds. "I've heard students say, 'They came out here and shot us once, they'll do it again,'" said one JSU faculty member.

The teacher, who requested anonymity because "I'm tenured but you never know how some people are going to react," sighed, adding, "In those days, there was a real environment of racism and I can't honestly say it's all gone."

Helen Cordes is a Denver journalist who has covered college issues for three years with the College Press Service.

JACKSON STATE TEN YEARS AFTER

BY HELEN CORDES

